IN COMMON THEY FOUGHT

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FACTS, DOCUMENTS AND ESSAYS

A COLLECTION

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ДЕЛО ТРУДЯЩИХСЯ ВСЕГО МИРА

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1917-1957

INTRODUCTION

This is a book about our friends, about the fraternal solidarity of the international proletariat with the Soviet people, about the selfless support given by the working people of all countries, by the progressive intellectuals of the world, to the cause of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Soviet society won millions of ardent supporters and true friends abroad as soon as the news of the proletarian revolution, which had brought power to Russia's workers and peasants led by Lenin, first swept the globe. Their numbers grew as the truth about the life and aspirations of the Soviet people made its way to other peoples, breaking through a barrage of anti-Soviet lies and slander.

The rulers of the capitalist world, filled with a fierce hatred for the October Revolution and the Soviet state born of it, used every means of deception and misinformation combined with police reprisals in an effort to combat the masses' sympathy for new Russia and set them against her. It was all in vain—the working people of the capitalist countries, including those in uniform, resolutely ranged themselves on the side of the Soviets in the undeclared predatory war of world imperialism against the young republic.

Speaking at the Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets in December 1919, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great founder of the Soviet state, said: "We declared from the very beginning of the revolution that we were a party of the international proletariat, and that, no matter how great the difficulties of the revolution were, a time would come

when at the most critical moment the sympathy and the solidarity of the workers oppressed by international imperialism would make themselves felt. For this we are accused of utopianism. But experience has shown that if we cannot always rely on action being taken by the proletariat, and if we cannot always rely on all the actions it takes, it may nevertheless be said that these two years of world history have proved that we were a thousand times right."

This holds true for all the subsequent years. The working people of our country have invariably enjoyed the sympathy and support of the working class and all forward-looking people of the world throughout their heroic advance from backwardness to the summits of progress, from ruin to might, from poverty to prosperity — in short, from defeated capitalism to socialist society. It has been real friendship, indestructible and effective; it has been not merely disinterested help, but help that at times required sacrifices from those who gave it.

Once Marx and Engels said of the proletarians: "Human brotherhood is not a mere phrase with them but truth, and human nobility shines upon us from their work-hardened faces." That nobility and that brotherhood were vividly embodied in the attitude of the broad masses of the working people all over the world towards the Soviet Union.

The history of mankind had never registered anything of the kind before the rise of the Soviet state. Such solidarity of millions of people of various countries with a remote foreign land is only possible in the case of a socialist country, that is, a country pursuing lofty aims that are near and dear to all honest people.

The oneness of the basic interests of the working people of all countries and continents underlies the fraternal friendship between the Soviet people and other peoples. This oneness, springing from the entire course of social progress, is best expressed in the fact that all working people alike seek to free themselves from exploitation and war, to build a life of plenty and cultural advance-

ment, a life worthy of human beings, that is, to provide themselves with such conditions of living as ordinary workers can only have under socialism.

Today anyone on earth who is not absolutely ignorant realizes that the October Revolution was not only a Russian phenomenon, that it was due to the same immutable laws of human progress as operate everywhere, that it ushered in a new era in world history, the era of the downfall of capitalism and the establishment of socialist society. To the working people of other countries the October Revolution was an inspiration, a prototype for their own coming emancipation from the yoke of exploiters. It is therefore only natural that from the outset they should have supported the cause of the revolution with might and main.

As time wore on the masses of the people became increasingly aware that the cause for which the workers and peasants of the Soviet land fought with the greatest bravery, for which they shed their blood and courageously faced the severest hardships, was the common cause of all working people, a cause on whose success depended the happiness and future not only of the miners of the Donets coal-field or the stevedores of Vladivostok, but also of the miners of Wales, the dockers of Brest, the workers of China and Czechoslovakia, of Germany and India—indeed, of all countries. For their part the Soviet people were inspired by the awareness that they were paving for mankind the way to a bright future free from war and want, from exploitation and humiliation of man by man.

The Soviet people regard the socialist achievements of their country not only as their own achievements, but also as those of the working people of all countries, of the entire socialist camp.

The facts and documents given in this book show international proletarian solidarity with the Soviet people in action at various stages of the life and struggle of our society—from 1917 to 1945.

It is impossible, of course, to narrate in one book the wealth of events and, in fact, immortal feats associated

with the participation of our foreign friends in the struggle and victories of the Soviet people over decades. *In Common They Fought* lays no claim to a full description of this remarkable social phenomenon of our times; its purpose is to reveal to the reader a few unforgettable chapters of past history that relate the exploits and glory of our foreign friends—some of the finest people of their day.

A substantial part of the materials in this collection, including documents and reminiscences, has never been published before. For lack of space the Editors had to abridge the texts of some materials or give summaries of them, duly marking the changes made.

In addition to literary texts, newspaper reports and a number of specially written articles, published previously, the collection includes documents of the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the Central Archives Department, the Central Lenin Museum, the Revolution Museum of the U.S.S.R., the Central Soviet Army Museum and the Central State Cinematographic and Photographic Archives.

The collection also contains a number of historical documents made available through the courtesy of the Yugoslav Commission for the Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution and the Society of German-Soviet Friendship.

The second chapter of the collection is compiled by A. Dunayevsky and G. Novogrudsky.

Chapter One

IN THE DAYS OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

On October 25 (November 7), 1917, the workers and soldiers of Petrograd overthrew by revolutionary assault the last bourgeois government of Russia, called Provisional as it were by the irony of fate. On the same day the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets representing a majority of the population proclaimed the transfer of all state power to the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. The congress formed a Soviet Government with Lenin at its head.

It was not just a reshaping of the political system of Russia; it was the birth of a new world that had matured inside the old society to take its place.

"We have a right to be and are proud of the fact," wrote Lenin afterwards, commenting on the significance of the October Revolution, "that to us has fallen the good fortune to *begin* the erection of a Soviet state, and thereby to *usher in* a new era in world history, the era of the rule of a *new* class, a class which is oppressed in every capitalist country, but which everywhere is marching forward towards a new life, towards victory over the bourgeoisie, towards the dictatorship of the proletariat—and towards the emancipation of mankind from the yoke of capital and from imperialist wars."

What made millions of ordinary people rise in arms in the October days and what led them on was the will to free themselves from poverty and ignorance, and from

national oppression that were concomitants of the old regime; it was the desire for a free and bright life worthy of man, the dream of a future in which everyone on earth would have "enough bread and roses." The masses of the working people had become conscious makers of history. There were few Communists at that time, but the Communist Party embodied the intelligence, honour and conscience of all working people and their inexhaustible energy. Giving proper expression to what the masses were conscious of, the Communist Party inspired and organized them in the revolutionary struggle. Having begun in the capital, the October Revolution soon triumphed all over Russia. Its early months were one continuous succession of victories. Before everyone abroad realized what had actually happened, before the panes of the Winter Palace, damaged during the October assault, were replaced, radical measures were being adopted in the industries, taken over by the workers, to increase output; the peasants were making plans for the spring sowing as they divided the landowners' lands among themselves; the printing works had begun printing, on orders from the authorities, books by classics in unprecedentedly large editions and at unprecedentedly low prices. The people were eager to give themselves up to peaceful creative work. Very soon after it was formed the Soviet Government set about laying vast reconstruction plans.

Meanwhile the exploiters overthrown by the Revolution were preparing in all haste to fight the Soviets with help from without, from the reactionaries of the whole world. On December 7, 1917, Robert Francis, the U.S. Ambassador to Russia, wrote to U.S. Secretary of State Lansing that he did not think the Soviet Government could last long. The *Daily Telegraph*, a mouthpiece of the British Conservative Party, prophesied on January 5, 1918, that the Soviet Government "may be swept out of existence at any hour, and no sane man would give them as much as a month to live." The imperialists not only predicted the "speedy" and "imminent" collapse of Soviet power, but also supported their predictions with

conspiracies, sabotage and anti-Soviet rebellions immediately after the Revolution.

In fighting to overthrow the capitalist regime and establish Soviet power, Russia's working people from the outset had the fraternal solidarity of the proletariat of other countries and the warm sympathy of progressive intellectuals, of the finest people of the time. Many foreigners who in 1917 found themselves in Russia took part in the October Revolution, and some of them, whose glory will never die, fell fighting for the Revolution, for socialism.

THE BROADSIDE OF THE *AURORA*

The historic broadside of the cruiser *Aurora*, which in the evening of October 25 (November 7), 1917, announced the beginning of the assault of the Winter Palace, the last seat of Russia's last bourgeois government, echoed throughout the world.

"The salvoes of the October Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to us," wrote Mao Tse-tung in his work *On the Dictatorship of People's Democracy*. "The October Revolution helped the progressive elements of the world and of China to apply the proletarian world outlook in shaping the destinies of their countries and revising their own problems. The conclusion drawn was to follow the Russian path."

"What was the October Revolution?" wrote Palmiro Togliatti, Secretary-General, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy, in his pamphlet *The Only Correct Way for Mankind* published in 1951. "Many of us still remember those days. The revolution took place in a historical situation that was one of the darkest moments in the recent history of mankind, and the news of the revolution had the effect of something incredible, indeed, of something incomprehensible in all its magnitude, I believe, to most of those whom it reached. What was clear to all was the fact that there had happened something really new, something never yet seen. Authority was actu-

ally passing to that party, to those people, whom the whole reactionary press had described, and still describes, as apostates of society, as the enemies of mankind, as agents of a foreign power—today they would have been called 'fifth columnists.' Consternation was general, especially when it became obvious that this time the transfer of power was permanent and not temporary, that the rule which the revolution had overthrown in Russia was actually the last of the rule of the old governing classes.

"The body which brought the new power into being was known as the Congress of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and was also attended by representatives of the progressive sections of the peasantry.

"People who made up a majority of society but who had been fated to obey those in authority and the rich, to be exploited and oppressed—those people, having taken power into their hands, began to build a new state of their own in order to use it as an instrument for the construction of a new society in which their expectations and hopes would materialize and their dreams come true.

"When the initial surprise was over, mankind broke up into two camps. The working people, the exploited and poor, the peoples oppressed and crushed by all kinds of injustice, people with glorious ideas and exalted hearts began to look upon the new power and the new state, which at that time was called the Soviet Republic, as the beginning of a thorough transformation of the whole society. Then their conviction grew stronger and expanded, it was borne out by facts and became the starting-point of and basis for a fundamental renovation of the whole progressive movement of the working people and nations.

"On the other hand there began a reckless and brazen campaign of preposterous accusations, lies and slander, and then came an armed intervention, blockade, economic sabotage and wars of extermination against the Soviet land—a campaign that has been going on for 34 years,* nor is there any indication that it will ever end."

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* We may now say "for 40 years" with just as good reason.—*Ed.*

Maurice Thorez, who was eighteen when the October Revolution came, says:

"My enthusiasm for the Russian Revolution urged me to militant action. I eagerly tried to learn what was going on over there, I devoured newspapers, magazines and pamphlets, but alas! I could not find in them what I wanted, for the government, the bourgeoisie and the press were doing their utmost to combat the rising system with lies and slander.

"However, those campaigns of lies and slander did not have the intended effect on the workers. In a vague way even the most unenlightened among them realized that what was being built in Russia was their republic, that the cause for which the Russian Communists fought so gallantly and fell was their cause—the cause of the workers of all countries. And above the enemy trenches, the burned and devastated towns, the regions blasted by shells and turned into deserts where the only living were those who had been given a respite, there rang Marx's great call, a call taken up by the Russian Revolution: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

Although Russia's postal and telegraphic communication with other countries was extremely handicapped in those days, the Soviet people could hear the voices of numerous friends who sincerely welcomed the rising workers' and peasants' state.

When the telegraph brought to the United States the news of the October armed uprising in Petrograd, of the beginning of a socialist revolution in Russia, workers and farmers expressed, at rallies and meetings and in numerous letters, their joy at the historic events unfolding in Russia and voiced their faith in the Soviets.

One of the resolutions adopted at a workers' meeting in Seattle, Washington, was delivered to Soviet Russia by American seamen and published in *Izvestia*, the newspaper of the Vladivostok Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, in January 1918. It ran as follows:

"We are delighted to greet the glorious Russian proletariat who is the first to have defeated capital, the first to have set up the dictatorship of the proletariat, the

first to have introduced and put into practice control over industry by the proletariat.

"It is our firm hope that the Russian proletariat will effect socializat; on of all production, that it will consolidate and extend its victories over capital.

"We assure the Russian champions of freedom that they have our warm sympathy, that we are ready to help, and we beg them to believe us when we say that the day is not far off when we will prove our proletarian solidarity by deeds."

The proletariat of all Europe hailed the October Revolution with enthusiasm. By early 1918 Soviets of workers' deputies had been set up in most Polish towns, and in many districts of Poland Soviets of farm-labourers' deputies had come into being.

The British proletariat took a deeply sympathetic attitude towards the new Soviet state. The British workers' sentiments found striking expression in the frank ill will with which they met Kerensky, head of the Provisional Government, who had fled from Russia in an American car, disguised as a woman. The workers refused to hear a man expelled by the people, a half-baked dictator who struck Napoleonic attitudes and had made futile attempts to drown the Revolution in blood, though the reactionary press all but fitted him out with an angel's pinions.

A message of greetings, received from Denmark at the end of 1917, is typical of that period. It read:

"The Secretariat, which represents the United Danish Revolutionary-Syndicalist Workers' Movement, gathered in assembly after receiving the joyous tidings that a social revolution actually took place in Russia on October 25, 1917, has unanimously resolved to send you, our Russian brothers, cordial and enthusiastic greetings....

"Our joy is boundless. Your example lights the way for the proletariat of the whole world like a guiding star, lending us renewed faith, energy and strength to continue and intensify our struggle, and to put into practice your slogans on Denmark's soil as well, through the Danish working class.

"Across national boundaries and through imperialist wars, through all that capitalism puts in the path of the international brotherhood of peoples, we send you these cordial and enthusiastic greetings of ours and beg you to convey them to the entire Russian people.

"Long live the international brotherhood of peoples!

"Long live social revolution!"

One of the first among the outstanding political leaders of the world to welcome the October Revolution was Sun Yat-sen, the great revolutionary democrat, who for many years led the national-liberation movement in China.

In 1918 Sun Yat-sen sent to Lenin a message congratulating him on the great victory of the Revolution. Later he declared that the Russian Revolution had "given China an example of how a country can free itself from the shackles of foreign aggression and injustice."

For all the hue and cry of the international reactionary press, which immediately after receiving the first telegrams about the establishment of Soviet power started to calumniate it with fury, distorting the essence of the October Revolution beyond recognition and portraying the Communists as bandits, the truth made its way to the peoples. Millions of men and women in all latitudes hailed the October Revolution as the dawn of a happy future for all humanity.

SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION

LI CHENG-TUNG, CHINA

"My comrades and I left old China to escape poverty and starvation," said Li Cheng-tung. "That was in 1916, when twelve thousand Chinese proletarians were contracted for work in Russia.

"We did lumbering not far from Petrograd. We had sought happiness and found slave labour instead, for in tsarist Russia the bosses were the same kind of capitalist robbers as in China. That is why, when capitalism

was overthrown in Russia, we Chinese proletarians, led by the Russian working class, rose to defend the Great October Socialist Revolution.

"A Revolutionary League of Chinese Workers was founded in the very first days of the October Revolution in Petrograd. Many Chinese proletarians at once joined the Red Guards."

The same happened in other Russian towns where there were Chinese workers. In Moscow a large number of Chinese émigrés, of workers employed in various industries, took a direct part in revolutionary battles side by side with their Russian class brothers. Their employers retaliated by discharging all the Chinese workers who had taken part in the Revolution, but later were compelled to re-employ them. Many Chinese workers joined the Red Guards and later fought in the ranks of the Red Army.

Li Cheng-tung was sent as a Red Army soldier to the Caucasus, where he distinguished himself more than once, fighting those who sought to stamp out freedom.

JOSIP BROZ, YUGOSLAVIA

In 1915 Josip Broz, a Yugoslav metal-worker who today is known to the world as Marshal Josip Broz-Tito, President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, was wounded while serving in the Austro-German Army and found himself in Russia as a prisoner of war. There he came out against the iniquities done to the prisoners of war and was sent to jail; he did not regain his freedom until the February Revolution of 1917.

On July 3(16), 1917, a huge demonstration was held by workers and soldiers in Petrograd against the Provisional Government, for the transfer of power to the Soviets. The demonstration and the onslaught of reaction that followed it were an important step towards the road to the armed uprising that was to come in October. Josip Broz, who was in Petrograd, took part in the July demonstration. Calling to mind that period, he said at a rally held at the Kirov Elektrosila Works in Leningrad in 1956:

"In 1917 I was here in 'Peter,' as you called Leningrad then. I saw how backward your country was. I knew it well because I had travelled in it far and wide. It was a terribly backward country. And afterwards when I had a chance to visit your city I saw the courageous revolutionary workers of Petrograd, and though young I realized that Russia was headed for a bright future. I saw the tremendous enthusiasm of the workers, I witnessed street fighting and took some part in it. It was clear that the workers were determined to uphold their freedom and build a better life for themselves. Soon after that, in October of the same year, the workers put an end to their past and took a new road, the road of socialist construction."

Josip Broz was not in Petrograd when the October Revolution began, for he had been arrested and exiled to the Urals for participation in the July demonstration. However, he succeeded in escaping on the way. He took part in establishing Soviet power in Omsk, where he joined the Red Guards in October 1917.

When Kolchak's troops marched upon Omsk, Josip Broz, a young internationalist Red Guard from Yugoslavia, fought with arms in hand against the enemies of the Soviet state, for a bright future for the peoples.

MARCELI BORKOWSKI, POLAND

The documents kept in the archives of the history of the Civil War fail to reveal many aspects of Marceli Borkowski's life. They say nothing about the family into which he was born or the education he received. They give no idea of his personality. Nevertheless, he has all the sympathy of Soviet people who have never seen him, and his memory lives on in the chronicles of the October Revolution.

He was 16 years old when he had to fly from war-threatened Warsaw. The Revolution found him in Rostov-on-Don. He took a most vigorous part in it, being known in the city as an active worker of the local Youth League that was close to the Communists.

But no sooner had the sun of Soviet power risen over Rostov than Ataman Kaledin's counter-revolutionary rebellion broke out.

The members of the Youth League at once went into action along with the workers' Red Guard detachments. From a report by the commander of one of those detachments we learn that "during a Kaledin attack at Alexandrovskaya, Private Marceli Borkowski saw a Whiteguard rush at a nurse with bayonet at the ready. Borkowski fell fearlessly upon the enemy but, like the nurse, was stabbed to death."

SOTIR CHERKEZOV, BULGARIA

One of the Red Guards whom Lenin met at Smolny in the early days of the Revolution was a black-moustached young man in a student's frock-coat, as shown with documentary accuracy in a painting by M. Sokolov. Those who knew Sotir Cherkezov find no difficulty in recognizing him in the painting.

Persecuted for revolutionary activity in his native Bulgaria, Cherkezov decided to complete his education in Russia. Here he soon found his way, first into a Marxist circle, then to the Bolsheviks.

In the summer of 1917 Cherkezov took part, as a flyer serving in the Russian Air Force, in the suppression of the counter-revolutionary Kornilov uprising. When preparations were being made for the October armed uprising, he joined one of the Putilov Plant workers' combat groups.

On October 24 (November 6), 1917, the combat group which included Cherkezov started after 11 p. m. for Nikolayevsky (now known as Moskovsky) Station, a highly important railway station of Petrograd. The Red Guards had prepared their attack very carefully, and they went into action from many sides simultaneously. The battle was a pitched one but did not last long. Soon a red flag was hoisted on the station dome, under a starlit sky.

Just then Cherkezov's countrymen who were in Petrograd or Moscow—Petr Tushanov, Anton Mironov, Ivan Kovachev, Zhelezko Stoikov, Georgy Mikhailov, Ivan Deyanov and other Bulgarian workers—were fighting for the Revolution in the ranks of other workers' detachments.

Next day, October 25 (November 7), Cherkezov was called to Smolny, where G. Orjonikidze said to him:

"You have been assigned to guard the headquarters of the Red Guards. You've deserved it by your devotion to the Russian proletariat and by your unflagging energy."

A month later Lenin instructed Cherkezov to restore order at the Gatchina airfield, and from that day on Cherkezov fought for the cause of the October Revolution in the ranks of the Red Guard and later of the Red Army air force.

A HERO OF TWO REVOLUTIONS—IN RUSSIA AND IN HUNGARY

Tibor Szamuelly, a Hungarian journalist, found himself in Russia as a prisoner of war. In camp he made friends with and earned the confidence of his fellow soldiers—Alföld stock-breeders, Bács-Kiskun farmers and Csepel workmen.

Hundreds upon hundreds of questions asked by the soldiers induced him again and again to think of peace, land, the home country and freedom. He realized that there were between people deep antagonisms that could only be solved in revolutionary struggle, antagonisms due to the fact that while some people had everything, the others, who made up a majority, had nothing. After the day's work his fellow prisoners would seat themselves around him and have him read to them the Bolshevik *Pravda*, a newspaper read and re-read many times, and yet kept as a treasure.

Lenin's words and the *Aurora* salvo had set Szamuelly's course for him. He took part in the October Revolution

as an organizer of Red Guard detachments and international brigades, as the editor of *Szocialista Forradalom* (Social Revolution), a Hungarian-language newspaper published in Moscow, and, last but not least, as a brave soldier. It was he who led the Hungarian Red Guards during the heavy fighting for the Moscow Telephone Exchange seized by the counter-revolutionaries, with the result that the enemy was defeated and forced out.

During the Soviet people's struggle against the interventionists and Whiteguards a hundred thousand Hungarian prisoners of war took up arms to defend the Revolution. It was largely a result of the efforts of Szamuelly, a gifted propagandist, who knew how to reveal the grandeur and invincibility of the cause of the October Revolution to the most ignorant of the prisoners of war, freeing their minds from the prejudices of bourgeois thinking.

In late 1918 Szamuelly left for Hungary, where he was soon arrested for revolutionary activity. After being released from prison he plunged once again into the struggle for the transformation of his homeland after the Russian example. A new force—the Communist Party of Hungary—had emerged on Hungary's political scene by then. Its core was formed by prisoners of war come back from Russia, among whom were Szamuelly, Münnich, Kun, Rakosi and others. The communist slogans—"All Power to the Soviets," "Fraternal Alliance with Soviet Russia," "Follow the Example of Our Russian Brothers," "Disarm the Bourgeoisie, Arm the Proletariat"—enjoyed widespread popularity among the working masses. The party's influence was growing steadily, thanks considerably to the newspaper *Vörös Újság* (*Red Newspaper*), edited by Szamuelly. Despite the persecutions the newspaper had a large circulation.

When the Hungarian Soviet Republic was proclaimed Szamuelly became one of the members of its government. At 29 he had proved to be an energetic and able statesman of revolutionary Hungary.

Szamuelly prided himself on the fact that "the seed sown by the Russian Revolution" had first sprouted in the plain

between the Tisza and the Danube. In addition to its national significance, the Hungarian Revolution was of great international moment, for it had refuted the theory that "only the peculiarities of Russia were causing this unexpected turn to proletarian Soviet democracy," as Lenin put it. Szamuelly wrote in those days: "The events in Hungary are a new brilliant victory of the ideas of the glorious leader of the international proletariat, Lenin."

Late in May 1919 Szamuelly flew to Moscow to discuss the problems of the joint struggle of the Soviet state and the Hungarian Soviet Republic against imperialist intervention. A parade of workers' regiments, communist battalions and students of military schools was held in Red Square on May 25. Speaking at the parade, Lenin stressed the significance of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

"This celebration shows the progress we have made, the new strength that is growing inside the working class," he said. "As we look on this parade we feel confident that Soviet power has won the sympathy of workers in all countries, that international war will be replaced by a fraternal alliance of international Soviet republics.

"May I introduce to you a Hungarian comrade, Tibor Szamuelly, who is Commissar for Military Affairs of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.... Long live international communist revolution!"

The next to speak was Szamuelly.

In those days Lenin wrote a message to Hungary entitled "Greetings to the Hungarian Workers." It said: "Comrades, the news we have been receiving from the Hungarian Soviet leaders fills us with delight and joy." Lenin went on to point out that the class struggle would not cease after the dictatorship of the proletariat was established, but would, in fact, grow more bitter in many respects. He revealed the role of the working class and showed the necessity of establishing a solid alliance with the peasantry. "Be firm," he wrote. "If vacillation should manifest itself among the Socialists who only yesterday gave their adherence to you, to the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat, or among the petty bourgeoisie, suppress it ruthlessly."

On May 31 Szamuelly returned to Budapest and addressed a meeting of the Budapest Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. When he said, "I also bring you greetings from Comrade Lenin," loud cheers burst out.

Next day, June 1, 1919, *Népszava* (*The Voice of the People*), the United Workers' Party newspaper, carried the text of Lenin's "Greetings."

Russian prisoners of war in Hungary sided enthusiastically with the Hungarian Revolution, joining its Red Army. A telegram from the Soviet Government, read at a mass rally of former Russian prisoners of war, said: "Defend Hungary's proletarians! Hungarian and Russian proletarians, fight together for the common interests of all proletarians!" Then, on behalf of the Hungarian Revolutionary Government Council, Szamuelly greeted the rally amid stormy applause. There is a record of his speech at the rally in the archives of the Institute of the Working-Class Movement in Budapest. "We did not want to go home from Russia," said Szamuelly, "until the workers' position in the struggle against the capitalists was made completely secure. We wanted to defend the Russian proletariat. Now it is for you to defend us.... Your place in the struggle is in the ranks of the Hungarian Red Army."

By April two international Red regiments had been formed in Hungary.

But the odds were against Soviet Hungary, for the whole of international reaction had rallied to fight her. In August 1919 the Hungarian Soviet Republic was defeated. There came a period of violent White terror to which Szamuelly fell victim: he was atrociously assassinated by imperialist agents.

Szamuelly left an ineffaceable memory in the hearts of the Soviet people and the people of Hungary.

THE DESTINIES OF OUR PEOPLES WERE AT STAKE TOO

(Excerpt from recollections)

The autumn of 1917 was nice and friendly in Odessa, but everyone sensed that a revolutionary storm was in the making. Bourgeois rule did not satisfy the working people, who said so frankly, and we former prisoners of war understood them only too well....

I say "former" because the Odessa Soviet of Workers' Deputies had taken care to release us as early as spring. We did not feel like strangers among the ordinary townspeople, and the slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" meant a very great deal to us.

It could naturally not be concealed from us that the Soviet was forming Red Guard detachments. We realized that those detachments were intended to win power for the working people, and many of us wanted to contribute to that great and holy cause. We called at the Soviet and visited the Party Committee to tell about our sentiments. The reply we got was:

"Your help is welcome, Comrades."

After some consultation we decided to form an independent international Red Guard unit of Odessa. Our detachment was led by Mikolás Mlčoch, a Czech officer of the Austro-Hungarian Army. The detachment consisted of three units: a Czech one led by me, a Chinese one led by Pi Kai-chang and a Yugoslav one led by that lion-hearted knight of the Revolution, Oleko Dundić.

The situation in Odessa was complicated, power was in the hands of the nationalist bourgeois Ukrainian Rada, the Kaiser's troops were not far off, and therefore the Great October Socialist Revolution was longer in coming to the city.

It was not until the night of January 15 (28), 1918, that the revolutionary forces began the attack after thorough preparation. Workers' Red Guard detachments, seamen from various ships and some army units took part in the uprising with the slogan "For Soviet Power." Our

international Guards fought along with the others for the cause of the Revolution.

We fought at the Military College, the district Army Headquarters and the railway station.

The military cadets put up furious resistance. They were vastly superior to us in armament—they were using machine-guns and an armoured car, while we had nothing but rifles and sabres. Nevertheless, we gained the upper hand. The internationalists fought gallantly, well knowing what they were fighting for. We longed for a happy life for the working people, we wanted to shake off for good the chains of capitalism which had precipitated us into the disaster of war, and we were certain that the October Revolution was shaping the destinies of our peoples as well—of the Czechs, Serbs, Croats and Chinese. That was why everyone fought so courageously for the Revolution.

The bravest among the brave was Oleko Dundić. He refused to leave the front line even when wounded—he simply could not imagine himself retreating.

Pi Kai-chang, commander of the Chinese volunteers, likewise fought valiantly. By the way, they were great friends, were Pi and Dundić. In peace-time they had both taught history to children, then had themselves begun to do their share in making history in the battlefields of the Revolution, well knowing how to go about it.

In that strenuous battle we beat the cadets and took their machine-guns and armoured car.

We had to fight harder still in the Alexandrovsky Gardens, where we were faced with a picked unit of *Haidamaks*,* made up almost entirely of officers. Many of us were wounded, and some of our comrades we lost for ever....

All Odessa took part in burying our dead.

That was when the proletariat had already won and the city was under Soviet control.

ADOLF ŠÍPEK

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* Special mounted troops used by Ukrainian counter-revolution.—*Tr.*

There were numerous prisoners of war working at the Moscow Aircraft Plant in 1917, including us 22 Hungarians from Budapest.

When the October Revolution had begun a group of sailors arrived at our plant in three lorries. They gathered the workers together and told them there was a revolution, the workers and peasants were taking power and we must all go out into the streets to drive away the bourgeoisie and strengthen the Soviets.

All the 22 of us at once asked the sailors to admit us to their ranks. That was how I found myself in the First Armoured Regiment, where our sailor friends trained us in a revolutionary spirit and where we learned how to throw out the exploiters, fighting shoulder to shoulder with all working people.

LÁJOS KISS

A considerable number of prisoners of war worked in a brick-yard near Moscow in the autumn of 1917. One day the news about the victory of the socialist revolution reached us. We rejoiced immensely, for we had the struggle of the Russian proletariat at heart. Indeed, what was the difference between us workers and peasants of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and Russian workers and peasants? We had the same needs and interests in common....

Our Russian comrades told us that we were no longer prisoners but free citizens. Most of us profited by their freedom to fight for Soviet power, against the oppressors. I left at once for Moscow and there joined an international detachment of the Red Guards. Our commander was Tibor Szamuelly.

MIHÁLY TARCSAI

On October 18, 1917, the former prisoner of war Károly Ligeti, a Hungarian fighter for the cause of the October Revolution, wrote to the editors of the Hungarian revolutionary newspaper *Népszava*:

"Dear Comrades, it is not so very cold in cold Siberia after all—the scarlet colour of hearts is creating a new

world in this region of exile and white mourning. Revolutionary fraternity unites the sons of the North, East, South and West who have met in these white steppes...."

YES, IT DID CONCERN US!

(From the reminiscences of Rudolf Harašín)

The October Revolution found me in a Russian prisoner of war camp near Kostroma.

As soon as we learned that a proletarian revolution had taken place in Petrograd, that the working people of Russia had taken power into their own hands, we prisoners of war at once organized an international Red Guard detachment. Sixty men volunteered to join it. I was elected commander.

The guards posted around our camp seemed to vanish into thin air as soon as the boom of the *Aurora* guns reached Kostroma, announcing the birth of a socialist state to the whole world. We formed a detachment to help our Russian fellow proletarians, drew up as befitted seasoned soldiers and started for the town to attend a rally.

It was a large gathering, everybody was excited and full of joy, even though he realized that there was a struggle ahead. The slogans which we saw and heard there—"All Power to the Soviets," "The Land to the Peasants," "Bread for the Workers," "Peace First"—appealed strongly to us former prisoners of war.

After the rally we set out with our Russian comrades to disarm the supporters of the Provisional Government.

We came to the garrison commander and told him to surrender arms. A tall colonel of stately bearing, with a large beard, he rose slowly from his desk and said:

"I'll grant that the Petersburg and Moscow revolutionaries have the right to talk to us as victors, but what right have you Austrian prisoners of war to do so? Our affairs don't concern you."

We did not argue with him but simply arrested him. He could think behind prison bars whether the affairs of the Revolution concerned us or not.

Then, together with Russian workers, our comrades, we disarmed the soldiers of the garrison. Afterwards many of those soldiers joined our detachment.

Later we occupied provision, munitions and other stores and immediately took care to guard and protect them.

The results of the very first days of the October Revolution had a tremendous impact upon us. We were proud of fighting in the ranks of the Red Guards and of establishing Soviet power together with our Russian working-class brothers.

In the Kostroma Red Guards there were, besides Russian soldiers, many Hungarians, Austrians, Serbs, Czechs and Germans. We wore different uniforms and spoke different languages, but our goal was the same—to fight for the victory of the Revolution, for the freedom of the working people.

We had taken the imperial badges off our caps and fastened red ribbons—the Red Guards' symbol—instead.

Meanwhile the enemy was not wasting his time but was doing all he could to demoralize us. Most officers, who were prisoners of war, had sided with counter-revolution. They sought to intimidate us, saying that we should all be court-martialled when we got back home. Catholic and other priests came to the barracks to assure us that the Lord himself wanted the prisoners of war to leave Russia and not to interfere in Russian affairs.

The local merchants were active too. They declared that they would not open their stores until the "Austrians" were disarmed and sent back to their camps.

The reply which the merchants got from the Kostroma Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies is easy to imagine. As for the officers and priests, we gave them the answer they deserved.

Despite the efforts of reaction our international detachment was gaining strength and growing in numbers day after day.

We soon established contact with the Yaroslavl International Battalion, whose commander was Koudelka, a Czech miner.

THE FIRST POLISH REVOLUTIONARY REGIMENT

> "Polish soldiers, the revolutionary heroism of the people of Belgorod must serve you as an example of proletarian solidarity. Down with counter-revolution!"
>
> *Trybuna* (a Polish weekly), December 1917

In July 1917, when the workers and revolutionary soldiers of Petrograd went to Palace Square with the slogan "All Power to the Soviets," the Polish Reserve Regiment stationed in Belgorod joined revolutionary Petrograd and supported the slogan calling for the transfer of power to the Soviets, expressing no-confidence in the Kerensky Government.

In mid-July the Regimental Committee, elected by the soldiers, removed the regimental commander, who was a reactionary, and replaced him by Second Lieutenant Jackiewicz, whom the soldiers trusted. The Commander of the Moscow Military District wired to Kerensky: "Regarding the cessation of disturbances in the Polish Reserve Regiment, quartered in Belgorod, I consider it necessary to entrust the task to Dowbor-Muśnicki, Commander of the Polish Corps, assigning him an armed force."

Dowbor-Muśnicki tried to subdue the regiment but failed.

At the time of the counter-revolutionary Kornilov rebellion representatives of the Polish Regiment were elected to the Revolutionary Centre set up in Belgorod. A large group of reactionary officers were expelled from the regiment.

The High Command, backed by the Provisional Government, deprived the Belgorod regiment of rations. The soldiers found themselves in a sore plight and were threatened with starvation.

But the working people of Belgorod did not leave their Polish comrades in need. The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies procured food and money for them.

The workers and soldiers of Belgorod were the first in Kursk Gubernia to take power. The Polish soldiers firmly supported the Soviets.

On November 23, 1917, a representative of the First Polish Revolutionary Regiment spoke at the meeting of the Moscow Soviet.

"I represent the First Polish Revolutionary Regiment," he said, and was greeted with applause. "Why do I call it revolutionary? Because we also have Polish reactionary regiments.

"Our regiment has delegated me to Moscow and told me to convey heartfelt greetings to the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. (*Applause.*)

"I must tell you, Comrades, that since the early days of the Revolution the Polish Revolutionary Regiment has supported the slogan 'All Power to the Soviets.' The Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies will find full support with the Polish Revolutionary Regiment; it will find moral support, but if necessary the Moscow Soviet may count on the sixteen thousand bayonets which the Polish Revolutionary Committee has at its command." (*Applause.*)

Before long the Polish soldiers demonstrated their loyalty to Soviet power by deeds. Late in November, for several days, they fought along with Petrograd, Kharkov and Belgorod workers, soldiers and sailors against picked Whiteguard detachments, made up chiefly of officers, who were trying to break through to the Don.

The Council of People's Commissars had issued orders to destroy those counter-revolutionary forces at any cost. Its orders were carried out. The Kornilovites were thoroughly routed in hard fighting, only a few of them contriving to escape to the Don. In that battle many Polish soldiers showed great bravery and a firm will to win.

The soldiers of the First Polish Revolutionary Regiment displayed their revolutionary heroism in subsequent combat operations as well—during the intervention and Civil War.

THEY PREFERRED TO FIGHT FOR THE REVOLUTION

Many of the soldiers of the Serbian "Volunteer" Corps, formed under Kerensky, did not want to fight for the capitalist ministers. Revolutionary ferment among the soldiers was increasing day by day.

At first the corps commander, General Živković, tried to resort to force, threatening the "rebels" with concentration camps. Then, seeing that he was on the losing side, he took recourse to a ruse and announced a "plebiscite": every soldier and officer was to state on parade his decision—whether he was willing to set out for the Island of Corfu or preferred to stay in revolutionary Russia.

Živković expected that there would not be too many "rebels" and that the bulk of the soldiers would shrink from saying that they were staying in Russia, the more so because such soldiers were to be stripped of their Serbian decorations and shoulder-straps and deprived of civil rights.

Nevertheless, several thousand soldiers and over a hundred officers firmly took sides with the Russian Revolution. The slogans of the Great October had found a warm response in the hearts of Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Montenegrin and Macedonian toilers. The soldiers began to join Yugoslav detachments of the Red Guards. Such detachments had been formed in Odessa, Kiev and Yekaterinoslav (now called Dnepropetrovsk). The largest was the Kiev detachment, commanded by Maksim Čanak.

Čanak, who was a tanner, had arrived in Russia as a prisoner of war. When the Russian soldiers started setting up regimental Soviets, he was one of those who organized similar Soviets in the Serbian Corps. After the "plebiscite" he left the corps along with a group of soldiers and formed a Yugoslav Red Guard detachment. It was one of the first international detachments in revolutionary Russia.

At the end of 1917, when the German Army invaded the Ukraine and the counter-revolutionary forces raised

their ugly head, Čanak's detachment defended the approaches to Yekaterinoslav, against the Whiteguards. There most of the internationalists died a heroic death together with their commander.

Another group of soldiers from the corps joined the Yugoslav Revolutionary League, founded in Kiev late in 1917. The League began its activities by forming a battalion 800 strong.

The Yugoslav League took part in the arsenal workers' revolutionary uprising in Kiev. It assigned artillery-men and machine-gunners to help the insurgents. Many Yugoslavs fought against the cadets and *Haidamaks*.

The uprising lasted about a fortnight and ended in the victory of the revolutionary forces. Power passed to the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

The day after the liberation of Kiev the Yugoslav Revolutionary League formed an international Red Guard detachment, which later fought for Soviet power on numerous fronts.

A TRUE FRIEND OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

One of the members of the French military mission that arrived in Russia in September 1917 was Captain Jacques Sadoul. He closely followed the course of events during the October Revolution and the first steps of the new state—a state of the working people unprecedented in history. He saw how enthusiastically the working class and working people in general supported all measures of the Soviet Government, how eagerly the whole country responded to the call of the Communist Party. He was struck among other things by the fact that the Petrograd workers, faced with a British squadron riding at anchor at the sea gates of the capital and with the continuous intrigues of counter-revolution, had immediately begun to take care of the city as befitted its masters and set up milk centres, nurseries and schools while suffering from hunger and want. The noble features of the new social system rising to life in extremely trying conditions won the French Captain's deep sympathy.

Sadoul knew that what the Soviet people needed above all was peace, and he sought to help the Soviet Government in its struggle for peace.

As Sadoul wrote later, in December 1917 and in January and February 1918, Lenin had repeatedly availed himself of his mediation in the discussions with the military missions of the Entente countries when the conclusion of an armistice with Germany and her allies was in preparation. (*L'Humanité*, Nov. 2, 1919.)

The Soviet Government approached the governments of the belligerents more than once with peaceful proposals. But the Entente invariably refused to consider them.

In February 1918, when the German imperialists pitted their troops against Russia, who was unarmed, having demobilized her armed forces, Sadoul brought to Lenin the French officer de Lubersac, who on behalf of French demolition men offered his services in blowing up railways along the route of the Kaiser's troops.

Sadoul was not a Communist as yet, but he was doing all he could to help the Soviet people in their fight for freedom and independence. He could not reconcile himself to the anti-Soviet policy pursued by the French Military Mission. When the truth about the sinister schemes of imperialism against the new workers' and peasants' republic came home to him, he refused to serve imperialism. In March 1918 the mission left Russia, but Sadoul stayed.

He wrote in a letter to the Socialist members of Parliament:

"The armed intervention of the Allied bandits and their vassals in the affairs of workers' and peasants' Russia can by no means be recognized as a war of the French people against the Russian people. It is a war of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, of the exploiters against the exploited. In this class struggle every sincere Socialist, and hence I too, must be in the ranks of the proletarian army fighting the army of the bourgeoisie.

"I am joining the Red Army."

From then on Sadoul fought untiringly and selflessly

to defend the Soviets, indignantly exposing the criminal plans of the imperialist stranglers of freedom.

Sadoul wrote a letter to Romain Rolland, calling on him to stand up for the Russian Revolution and asking him to show it to the scholars and writers of France, who "will prevent the sons of the Great French Revolution from descending to irreparable infamy by assuming the role of hangmen of the great Russian Revolution."

When the letter was read at the French Socialist Party congress in October 1918, all the Left delegates rose to shout: "Long live the Soviet Republic!"

Late in March 1919 Sadoul went to Kiev, where he took part in organizing *Le Drapeau Rouge* (*The Red Banner*), a French-language newspaper intended for the interventionist troops. From there he proceeded to Odessa, into the thick of the fight, to carry on political work among the troops at the risk of his life. Here is one of the appeals he wrote to the Entente soldiers and sailors:

"We have been fighting for 56 months and the war is still going on. The officers have covered themselves with gold braid and medals, and the capitalists have amassed millions. But what will be the price of your suffering, your agony and your heroism, comrade soldiers and seamen?"

He wrote that poverty and unemployment were in store for them at home. He asked them:

"Don't you know you are gendarmes of the European bourgeoisie, hangmen of the revolutionary working people?

"You are being held up in the East to murder the revolution in Russia and Hungary, wherever it is winning... wherever it is about to rise....

"The Bolsheviks are genuine socialists—not only socialists in word, as many of ours unfortunately are, but socialists in deed.... They have founded a socialist republic. They have given all power to the working people. They have expelled the bourgeoisie. They have restored the land to the peasants and the factories to the workers. They have moved the poor into the houses of the rich. They have opened the doors of schools and universities to the children of the people....

"Refuse to fight the revolutionary peoples! Support your brothers in their struggle for freedom!

"Down with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie!

"Long live the peace of the peoples! Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!"

And he signed:

"Jacques Sadoul, ex-Captain of the French Army, who has of his own free will joined the workers' and peasants' Red Army of Russia."

The whole bourgeois camp flew at Sadoul. He was accused of desertion, collusion with the enemy and incitement to insubordination.

The French Government staged a trial against him.

The Socialist Party started a campaign in his defence. Several sections of the Seine Federation of the Socialist Party nominated him at the general election held on November 16, 1919. He was elected honorary chairman at many electoral meetings arranged by the Socialist Party. Paul Vaillant-Couturier declared amid general applause, at a big popular rally held by the Seine Federation: "We want Captain Sadoul's name... to fly above the battlefield like a banner...." (*L'Humanité*, Nov. 2, 1919.)

In those days Sadoul's name meant to the ordinary people of France a demand for stopping the intervention, for putting an end to anti-Soviet policy.

The French author Hamp wrote that Sadoul had saved French honour by addressing to the French soldiers the appeal: "Comrades, not a step on Russian soil, against the Russian people. Not a shot against the Revolution." (*L'Humanité*, Nov. 7, 1919.)

The Clemenceau Government decided to deal with him before the general election. On November 8, 1919, a court martial sentenced him to death in absentia.

L'Humanité wrote that the sentence would bring unanimous protest from all honest people, no matter what party they belonged to. "Long live Sadoul! Long live the Russian Revolution!" it proclaimed.

Despite the death sentence forty thousand Paris workers entered Sadoul's name on their ballots, thereby condemn-

ing the government's anti-Soviet policy and expressing heartfelt sympathy with Soviet Russia.

Soon after the intervention and Civil War Sadoul returned to France. He was court-martialled but was acquitted under pressure from the people.

In November 1927, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution, ex-Captain Sadoul of the French Army was awarded the Order of the Red Banner as "a true friend of the October Revolution in its most trying days, sentenced by a bourgeois court to death in absentia for his sympathy with it."

THE HELPING HAND OF BELGIAN WORKERS

During the First World War Frédéric Legrand, a Belgian metal-worker, was sent to Russia with a large group of specialists in arms production. Being employed at the Sestroretsk Armoury, he soon noticed that both the Belgian and the tsarist authorities did their utmost to isolate the Belgian workers, to keep them from mixing with Russian workers. That prompted him to vigorously seek friendly relations with his Russian class brothers.

There were Communists at the armoury, and they opened Legrand's eyes to the real causes of the war, to the essence of the predatory capitalist system going to its doom. He and some of his countrymen soon found a common language with the Russian workers and felt that they were bound with Russia's working people heart and soul.

When the February Revolution of 1917 broke out Legrand joined the armed workers' detachment formed at the armoury.

But the hopes of the people were disappointed, for the bourgeoisie continued in power.

A few days before the October Revolution Legrand drew the armoury Communists' attention to the fact that near Finland Station there were Belgian armoured cars armed with machine-guns and cannon. They were a formidable weapon at that time, and they might become a grave threat if seized by counter-revolutionary officers. It was

decided to wreck the cars. Legrand accomplished the task at the risk of his life, having made his way into the guarded garage.

In the October days Legrand took part as a Red Guard in storming the Winter Palace.

A few days after the October Revolution Legrand and his comrades called a meeting of Belgian revolutionary workers. The meeting sent a delegation to Smolny to convey its solidarity with the Soviet state.

The delegation was received by Lenin and Sverdlov. Lenin's sister, M. I. Ulyanova, was present too. It was the first delegation of foreign workers who had come to offer their fraternal help to the working people of the Soviet land.

Pravda reported on November 7 (20), 1917:

"On November 5 Smolny was visited by a delegation of Belgian workers employed at the Sestroretsk Armoury and some Petrograd works. Their number totals 300. The delegates asked Lenin to tell the Russian proletariat that the Belgian workers are with it heart and soul in the struggle for peace and socialism. The number of those who support the Soviets among the Belgian workers is growing with every passing day. The Belgian workers are ready to give full support to the new Workers' and Peasants' Government, for the programme which it is carrying out is also that of the programme of the international proletariat."

Legrand and his comrades never forgot that meeting.

A MESSENGER OF THE FINNISH WORKERS

In the days of the October Revolution you could have met that tall Finn, who was so scanty of word and gesture, at the Smolny Palace, the headquarters of the revolutionary uprising, in a Red Guard detachment fighting the cadets or at a factory, among workers heatedly discussing their country's present and future.

Juhani Rahja, or Jukka, as his comrades called him, was an old metal-worker who had been employed for many

years in Russia and Finland. It was during the Russian Revolution of 1905 that he linked his fate with the Communist Party for ever. At many factories in Petrograd, Helsingfors and other cities he was known and liked as a courageous defender of the workers' interests and a dauntless champion of the freedom of the people.

Shortly before the October Revolution Rahja was imprisoned by the Kerensky police along with other Communist Party workers. On coming out of prison he went into action again and took part in the armed uprising.

A STORMY JANUARY IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

On November 8 (October 26), 1917, Radio Petrograd announced to the world that the Soviet Government proposed that all the nations waging war and all the belligerent governments should immediately begin negotiations to conclude a democratic peace without annexations and indemnities.

The proposal brought no response.

A fortnight later the Council of People's Commissars submitted to all governments a concrete proposal for immediate peace negotiations.

And again there was no response.

Then, a few days later, the proposal was addressed to every belligerent country in particular.

The governments of Britain and France—indeed, of all the Entente Powers—once more rejected peace. Imperial Germany and her allies agreed at last to start peace negotiations, but it soon transpired that they had done so only to attack Soviet Russia in a wanton manner.

In the course of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations the German imperialists put forward exceedingly onerous demands of a predatory nature, which became known to the peoples in January 1918. These demands of the Kaiser's peacemakers gave rise to a powerful protest movement among the working people of Germany and her allies.

The workers of Austria-Hungary welcomed the peace proposals of the Soviet Government and were outraged by what General Hoffmann, who led the delegation of Germany and her allies, had demanded at Brest-Litovsk on January 12, 1918. The news coincided with a further cut in bread rations. Stormy protest demonstrations broke out all over Austria. They culminated in a mass strike that involved the largest towns. From Austria the strike spread to Hungary and Bohemia. The workers demanded bread and peace and the removal of General Hoffmann. The cowed Austro-Hungarian Government hastened to promise that it would make peace with Soviet Russia and meet certain other demands of the strikers.

The movement of the working class against the predatory Brest-Litovsk peace was particularly strong in Germany. It was a truly historic action of the German working class that had repercussions in the revolutionary battles fought in Germany in the autumn of 1918.

On January 28, 1918, a mass political strike broke out in Germany in protest against the infamous Brest-Litovsk Treaty, against the pressure exerted upon Soviet Russia. That day nearly 400,000 workers went on strike in Berlin alone.

On the same day, according to the German journalist Albert Norden, author of the book *Between Berlin and Moscow*, the representatives of Berlin workers gathered at the House of Trade Unions and adopted the following demand on the authorities, expressing the will of all the strikers:

"Speedy achievement of peace without annexations and indemnities, on the basis of the right of nations to self-determination and in keeping with the proposals formulated at Brest-Litovsk by the delegates of the Russian people.... Participation by representatives of the workers of all countries in peace negotiations."

On January 28 the correspondents of *Die Vossische Zeitung*, a Berlin newspaper, wired:

"Hamburg. All Vulkanwerke workers struck this forenoon and started in serried ranks along the main thorough-

fares to the House of Trade Unions, where they held a rather stormy meeting.

"Kiel. All the shipyard workers, including those of the state-owned ones, are on strike today."

On January 30 the press stated:

"In Berlin the strike is to all appearances expanding." The AEG, Schwartzkopff-Werke, Borsig, Daimler, Orenstein & Koppel, Lorenz AG and Auer Gesellschaft works all stood still.

Altogether 550,000 people were on strike in Berlin.

On January 31 the strike was joined by 15,000 metalworkers of Mannheim. "This morning the workers of Brown Boveri & Co. marched to the market square, where one orator spoke for peace without annexations and indemnities, closing with the call 'Long live peace!'" (*Die Frankfurter Zeitung*, Jan. 31, 1918.)

In the archives of the German Democratic Republic, among documents of the Imperial Department of Internal Affairs that existed under the Hohenzollerns, there is a letter from one Richard Zimmermann of Jena, dated February 1, 1918, and addressed to the Imperial Chancellor. It is full of anxiety. "The proletarian peace movement has spread to Jena," it reads. "Seven thousand war-industry workers have joined the strikers. The demands put forward by the Berlin workers find unanimous support."

The strike spread to Nuremberg, Munich, Ludwigshafen, Danzig, Kiel, Breslau, Hamburg, Magdeburg, Halle, Dortmund, Bochum, Gera, Brande and hundreds of workers' settlements. The total number of strikers exceeded one million.

Pravda wrote on February 8, 1918:

"The mass strike in Germany has assumed a scale that shows how deep and lasting its causes are. Half a million workers in Berlin, a hundred thousand in Hamburg and Kiel and many thousands in Nuremberg, Munich, Mannheim, Kassel, Leipzig.... A rigorous state of siege has been proclaimed in Hamburg and Berlin. Strikers exempted from military service are being sent to the front. At the same time there are clashes between demonstrating workers and the police in the streets of Berlin, resulting

in many killed and wounded. This goes to show the attitude of the masses to the present events.

Lenin meant those stormy January days in Germany when he said at the Moscow Gubernia Conference of Factory Committees on July 23, 1918:

"The fascination of the Russian Revolution found expression in the first action—the greatest since the beginning of the war—by the German workers, who reacted to the Brest negotiations with a colossal strike in Berlin and other industrial centres. This action by the proletariat of a country befuddled with nationalism and drunk with the poison of chauvinism is a fact of paramount importance."

LISTENING TO LENIN

Albert Rhys Williams, the American journalist, who arrived in Petrograd in the spring of 1917, was in the days of the October Revolution with the working people, who were winning power and consolidating it.

Along with his friend and colleague John Reed he helped the young workers of the Foreign Ministry appointed by the Soviet Government, who found themselves in a most difficult position because of sabotage by the officials of the former tsarist Ministry. He took an active part in the work of the Propaganda Bureau set up at the Ministry after the Revolution. In 1919, when he was leaving for the United States, he was entrusted with setting up a Soviet information centre there. He failed in that task, according to John Reed, only because he lacked means. Nevertheless, in the atmosphere of a furious anti-Soviet campaign and persecution of progressive elements, encouraged by official U.S. agencies and involving the whole country, he did much to reveal the truth about the October Revolution and the Soviets to the American people.

Recalling that period, one of his contemporaries wrote afterwards: "All the forces of capitalism were mobilized to make the blockade of Soviet Russia complete and impenetrable. And when Williams succeeded after all in breaking through it and bringing us the truth, he seemed

to us, thanks to his stories and the facts he told us, to be a messenger from another world."

Before starting on the big book about the October Revolution which he proposed to write, Williams toured America for several months, telling everywhere what Soviet power was. Tens of thousands of people flocked to his lectures. In those days he wrote *Seventy-Six Questions and Answers*, a pamphlet about the Soviet land. It sold in two million copies.

Williams also wrote *Lenin. The Man and His Work*, *Through the Russian Revolution*, *The Russian Land* and other books, in which he gave an honest, if somewhat subjective, account of the October Revolution.

Here are a few excerpts from *Lenin. The Man and His Work*, which clearly reveal the author's personality, his views and his activity during the October Revolution.

"While a tumultuous, singing throng of peasants and soldiers, flushed with the triumph of their revolution, jammed the great hall at Smolny, while the guns of the *Aurora* were heralding the death of the old order and the birth of the new, Lenin quietly stepped upon the tribunal and the Chairman announced, 'Comrade Lenin will now address the Congress.'

"We strained to see whether he would meet our image of him, but from our seats at the reporters' table he was at first invisible. Amidst loud cries, cheers, whistles and stamping of feet he crossed the platform, the demonstration rising to a climax as he stepped upon the speaker's rostrum, not more than thirty feet away. Now we saw him clearly and our hearts fell.

"He was almost the opposite of what we had pictured him. Instead of looming up large and impressive he appeared short and stocky....

"After stilling the tornado of applause he said, 'Comrades, we shall now take up the formation of the Socialist state.' Then he went into an unimpassioned, matter-of-fact discussion. In his voice there was a harsh, dry note rather than eloquence. Thrusting his thumbs in his vest at the arm-pits, he rocked back and forth on his heels. For an hour we listened, hoping to discern the hidden

magnetic qualities which would account for his hold on these free, young, sturdy spirits. But in vain....

"We knew how heavy was the burden that the Bolsheviks had taken up. Would they be able to carry it? At the outset, their leader did not strike us as a strong man.

"So much for a first impression. Yet, starting from that first adverse estimate, I found myself six months later in the camp of ... [those] to whom the first man and statesman of Europe was ... Lenin....

"On all occasions he maintained the most perfect self-control. Events that stirred others to a frenzy were an invitation to quiet and serenity in him.

"The one historic session of the Constituent Assembly was a turbulent scene as the two factions came to death-grips with each other. The delegates, shouting battle-cries and beating on the desks, the orators, thundering out threats and challenges, and two thousand voices, passionately singing the International and the Revolutionary March, charged the atmosphere with electricity. As the night advanced one felt the voltage of the place going up and up. In the galleries we gripped the rails, jaws set and nerves on edge. Lenin sat in a front tier box, looking bored.

"At last he rose, and walking to the back of the tribunal he stretched himself upon the red carpeted stairs. He glanced casually around the vast concourse. Then... he propped his head on his hand and went to sleep. The eloquence of the orators and the roar of the audience rolled above his head, but peacefully he slumbered on. Once or twice, opening his eyes, he blinked about him, and nodded off again.

"Finally, rising, he stretched himself and strolled leisurely down to his place in the front tier box. Seeing our opening, Reed and I slipped down to question him about the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly. He replied indifferently. He asked about the activities of the Propaganda Bureau. His face brightened up as we told him how the material was being printed by tons, that it was really getting across the trenches into the German army. But we found it hard to work in the German language.

"'Ah!' he said with sudden animation, as he recalled my exploits on the armoured car, 'and how goes the Russian language? Can you understand all these speeches now?'

"'There are so many words in Russian,' I replied evasively. 'That's it,' he retorted. 'You must go at it systematically. You must break the backbone of the language at the outset. I'll tell you my method of going at it.'

"In essence, Lenin's system was this: First, learn all the nouns, learn all the verbs, learn all the adverbs and adjectives, learn all the rest of the words; learn all the grammar and rules of syntax, then keep practising everywhere and upon everybody. As may be seen, Lenin's system was more thorough-going than subtle.... But he was quite exercised over it.

"He leaned over the box, with sparkling eyes, and drove his words home with gestures. Our fellow reporters looked on enviously. They thought that Lenin was violently excoriating the crimes of the opposition, or divulging the secret plans of the Soviets, or spurring us to greater zeal for the Revolution. In a crisis like this, surely only such themes could draw forth this burst of energy from the head of the great Russian state. But they were wrong. The Premier of Russia was merely giving an exposition on how to learn a foreign language and was enjoying the diversion of a little friendly conversation.

"In the tension of great debates, when his opponents were lashing him unmercifully, Lenin would sit in serene composure, even extracting humour from the situation. After his address at the Fourth Congress, he took his seat upon the tribunal to listen to the assaults of his five opponents. Whenever he thought that the point scored against him was good, Lenin would smile broadly, joining in the applause. Whenever he thought it was ridiculous, Lenin, smiling ironically, would give a mock applause, striking his thumb-nails together....

"One of the secrets of Lenin's power is his terrible sincerity. He was sincere with his friends. He was gratified, of course, with each accession to the ranks, but he would not enlist a single recruit by painting in roseate hues the

conditions of service, or the future prospects. Rather he tended to paint things blacker than they were....

"Lenin is sincere even with his avowed enemies. An Englishman, commenting on his extraordinary frankness, says his attitude was like this: 'Personally, I have nothing against you. Politically, however, you are my enemy and I must use every weapon I can think of for your destruction. Your government does the same against me. Now let us see how far we can go along together.'

"This stamp of sincerity is on all his public utterances. Lenin is lacking in the usual outfit of the statesman-politician—bluff, glittering verbiage and success-psychology. One felt that he could not fool others even if he desired to. And for the same reasons that he could not fool himself: his scientific attitude of mind, his passion for the facts.

"His lines of information ran out in every direction, bringing him multitudes of facts. These he weighed, sifted and assayed. Then he utilized them as a strategist, a master chemist working in social elements, a mathematician. He would approach a subject in this way:

"'Now the facts that count for us are these: one, two, three, four—'He would briefly enumerate them. 'And the factors that are against us are these.'

"In the same way he would count them up, 'One, two, three, four—Are there any others?' he would ask.We would rack our brains for another, but generally in vain. Elaborating the points on each side, pro and contra, he would proceed his calculation as with a problem in mathematics....

"Lenin comes as a surgeon with his scalpel. He uncovers the simple economic motives that lie behind the grand language of the imperialists. Their proclamations to the Russian people he strips bare and naked, revealing behind their fair promises the black and grasping hand of the exploiters.

"Relentless as he is toward the phraseologists of the Right, he is equally as hard upon those phraseologists of the Left who seek refuge from reality in revolutionary slogans. He feels it his duty 'to pour vinegar and bile

into the sweetened waters of revolutionary-democratic eloquence,' and he treats the sentimentalist and shouter of shibboleths with caustic ridicule.

"When the Germans were making their drive upon the Red Capital a flood of telegrams poured in on Smolny from all over Russia, expressing amazement, horror and indignation. They ended with slogans like 'Long live the invincible Russian proletariat!' 'Death to the imperialist robbers!' 'With our last drop of blood we will defend the Capital of the Revolution!'

"Lenin read them and then dispatched a telegram to all the Soviets, asking them kindly not to send revolutionary phrases to Petrograd, but to send troops; also to state precisely the number of volunteers enrolled, and to forward an exact report upon the arms, ammunition and food conditions....

"Lenin's prowess as a statesman and seer arises not from any mystic intuition or power of divination, but from his ability to amass all the facts in the case and then to utilize them."

CHRONICLER AND CHAMPION OF THE REVOLUTION

In his home town of Portland, Oregon, John Reed was at first reputed to be the minion of fortune.

He was handsome without being sugary, and intelligent without being a bore, and had, as his contemporaries testify, a rare personal charm. His impetuous, amazingly active nature was endowed with manifold gifts, above all with a striking literary talent, which matured early. Lastly, he was distinguished and rich; his well-to-do family, one of the earliest settlers of the American West, traced its origin almost to that dim period when the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the deserted coast of the New World.

Needless to say, the gilded doors of Harvard, a university for the few, opened wide to him. In 1910, having taken a degree with distinction, he engaged in literary

work and won fame by his very first poems and short stories, and still more by his essays.

They began to pay him more than they did to others—$25,000 a year. But that did not last. What he wanted to write about most of all did not interest his publishers. Soon their tastes diverged for ever. At the same time he forfeited the support of his wealthy relatives, who were deeply dissatisfied with him, so much so that they disinherited him after his father's death.

But the people of Portland were wrong in imagining that Reed's fortune had turned against him, for he found happiness in struggle.

With a correspondent's card in his pocket he went to Paterson, New Jersey, where textile workers were on strike. During a demonstration he stood up for a worker being beaten by the police and landed in jail. His employers offered to bail him out. But he declined, having made up his mind to drink the cup to the bitter dregs along with the others. The bruises he had got, the stuffiness and gloom of the prison cell, did not prevent him from penning at once a gay and biting poem about the prison, entitled "Sheriff Radcliffe's Hotel." It enraged the sheriff. Compelled awhile later to release Reed, he said as he fingered his pistol that, by decision of the appropriate authorities, one John Reed was *explicitly* prohibited from ever appearing again within the Paterson city limits.

It goes without saying that Reed was soon back in Paterson, and those who wanted to hear him at a rally specially called by the trade union were so numerous that even Sheriff Radcliffe did not venture to object.

Somewhat later a performance representing a clash between police and strikers in Paterson was staged in New York Madison Square Garden. It was entitled "The Pageant of the Paterson Strike." The performance was a terrific success, and the reactionary press grudgingly commented that the police had apparently overdone its duty. The producer of the performance was Reed.

Then he found himself in Colorado, where Standard Oil gunmen fired on the strikers. He branded the Rockefeller clique, which owned the company, a bunch of mur-

derers. The company sued him for libel. Investigation fully bore out the charges made by Reed, and the case was hushed up.

Subsequently he gave the alarm in the columns of the few and weak radical newspapers, calling on America to rise against the horrible crime committed in Ludlow, where agents of Rockefeller's Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. had burned 20 people—the wives and children of strikers—alive. His call was heeded, the entire press began commenting on Ludlow, but once again the matter was hushed up.

Whatever the subject he wrote on—the working people of the United States, the peons, the Mexican-Indian farm-hands who had risen in arms, led by Pancho Villa, or the blood and mud of the trenches on the German front—he always breathed love for people, and was full of pain at the injustices of the established way of life and of hope for the birth of a new society where there would be no Rockefellers and no disinherited. In the summer of 1917 he sensed that that new society was knocking at Russia's door, and sped there.

The October Revolution found him in Petrograd. Having decided to tell the world about the first days of the Revolution, he went wherever events of any importance occurred and made a splendid collection of materials, his friends recall. At the same time he took part in editing English translations of the decrees of the Soviet Government, gave, in the most difficult days, all the help he could to workers of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, who had just started on a diplomatic career, and when the Socialist-Revolutionaries were expected to resort to armed action, guarded the Foreign Commissariat building with rifle in hand for 24 hours running.

"John Reed was not an indifferent onlooker," wrote afterwards N. K. Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, meaning Reed's attitude during the October Revolution. "He was an ardent revolutionary, a Communist who understood the meaning of events, the meaning of the great struggle going on."

That was why he wrote his *Ten Days That Shook the World*, a book about the October Revolution which Lenin recommended with all his heart to the workers of all countries. He wished to see it "circulated in millions of copies and translated into all languages, for it gives a truthful and unusually well-written account of events that are so essential for understanding proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Among those who spoke at the Third Congress of Soviets, convened in January 1918, was John Reed, an American Communist writer. As he spoke from a platform that the whole world could see, about the great mission of the October Revolution, of the bright future it was opening up for all mankind, he knew that in the United States he was charged with an offence punishable by twenty years hard labour.

Shortly after the congress he left for his country and at once appeared before the public prosecutor of New York. He demanded a trial, for he wanted to turn it into a platform for accusing those who would try him. In his speech to the jury, which lasted more than an hour, he told about what he had seen at the front and what the October Revolution stood for. The jury acquitted him.

While writing his book he toured the country, giving lectures on Soviet Russia. The police harassed him incessantly. In Philadelphia it forbade using the hall in which he was to speak. Meanwhile his audience pressed round the entrance, grumbling resentfully. Then Reed got a box, set it up on the pavement and, fully satisfied with the platform he had provided himself with, began to speak about Soviet Russia, addressing both his audience and passers-by who stopped to listen. He was tried again. After hearing him the jury acquitted him once more. The enraged prosecutor demanded that every single juryman should personally confirm that he actually voted for acquitting the defendant. They did so.

In October 1919 Reed returned to Soviet Russia—without a passport, which he had been refused. He had had to break through the ring of blockade and spend three months in jail on the way.

In Moscow he wrote and did whatever else he could for the new society, for the Soviet land besieged by enemies. Lenin had high praise for him. In the archives we find the correspondence which Lenin and his secretary exchanged at a Council of People's Commissars meeting. His secretary wrote to Lenin that Reed asked to be received "tonight." Lenin, who was extremely busy, wrote back: "All right. When this meeting's over." Incidentally, in another note Lenin said: "By the way, he [Reed.— *Ed.*] has learned Russian exceedingly well!"

Reed worked tirelessly until he was taken ill. "A fatal disease has bereft us of that brilliant, youthfully inspired comrade, infinitely devoted to communism," wrote his friends. Even the American bourgeois press had to pay him homage as an author, describing him as the best American writer of his day, and as a man.

On an October day of 1920 Reed was buried at the foot of the Kremlin wall, in Red Square. It was there that, during the October Revolution, he had realized that "the devout Russian people no longer needed priests to pray them into heaven. On earth they were building a kingdom more bright than any heaven had to offer, and for which it was a glory to die."

Chapter Two

THEY FOUGHT FOR THE SOVIETS

The Soviet state strove for peace from the very first. Russia withdrew from the imperialist war and called upon the belligerents to conclude peace. World imperialism replied by launching a furious onslaught against the Land of Soviets.

Immediately after the October Revolution, Western diplomats in Russia began plotting the overthrow of the Soviet Government and the murder of its leaders. When these plots and the rebellions they inspired failed, the imperialist powers started an open armed intervention against the peoples of Russia. At the same time they gave their support to all the counter-revolutionary forces within the country, supplying them with arms and directing their activities through special envoys and military missions. Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel and other representatives of the Russian counter-revolution, whom the people called bloodthirsty executioners and stranglers of freedom, were the placemen of the Entente, the imperialist military alliance that had emerged victorious from World War I.

Surrounded by enemies, isolated from the rest of the world, the young Soviet Republic was attacked by extremely powerful forces. Undaunted, the Soviet workers took up arms to defend their socialist country against this mortal danger.

Armed with rifles and machine-guns, with cartridge belts across their everyday clothes and red ribbons on

their chests to distinguish them from civilians, the metal-workers of Petrograd and Moscow, the textile workers of Ivanovo, the miners and smelters of Donbas, the metallurgists and miners of the Urals, the peasants of Central Russia, the Ukraine and Siberia, the workers of the Caucasus, the cattle-breeders of Central Asia, the fishermen and hunters of the Far East poured to the front to defend their newly won freedom.

The regiments and divisions of the new army—the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army—were formed with unheard-of speed. More than 450,000 people volunteered in the first weeks. By the spring of 1919 the number increased to 1,400,000, and to 5,000,000 at the end of the Civil War. The people rose as one in defence of the Revolution.

In this struggle against the enemies of freedom the Soviet toilers were joined by the workers and peasants of other countries—people who had been mobilized to fight against Russia or who, driven by poverty, had gone there in the hope of getting work, people who knew neither the language nor the customs of the country that became Soviet, people who only dreamed of returning to peaceful life and their families. And it was these people who fought and shed their blood for the freedom of the Russian workers and peasants, for the power of the toilers.

There were some who thought that strange, although in reality there was nothing unnatural in that. The Hungarians and Chinese, Serbs and Poles, Croats and Koreans, Slovens, Montenegrins, Rumanians, Germans, Bulgarians, Turks, Finns, Frenchmen, Italians, Greeks and all the others who fought so courageously in the international detachments of the Red Army felt and knew that the cause of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia was the cause of all the working people of the world. They shared the aspirations and strivings of the Russian workers and peasants and saw in their victory an earnest of their own. The great truth of the October Socialist Revolution was their truth too.

It is difficult to say exactly how many foreigners joined the Red Army during the Civil War. But it is known

for certain that in 1917-20 there were about 80,000 Hungarians, nearly 50,000 Chinese, tens of thousands of Czechs, Yugoslavs and Poles, thousands of Germans, Koreans, Rumanians, Turks, Frenchmen and Italians.

At the very beginning of the Civil War Red Guard detachments were formed of prisoners of war at 400 localities throughout Russia and separate companies and regiments in 89 towns.

The movement of the internationalists, as the foreigners in the Red Army were called, was voluntary in character and was directed by such public organizations as the Central Council of the Federation of Foreign Workers in Moscow, the All-Russian Union of Chinese Workers in Petrograd, the Central Committee of Foreign Workers in Siberia (Irkutsk), the provincial and country prisoner-of-war committees, etc.

Foreign workers fought side by side with Russian workers and peasants against the interventionists and the Whiteguards both in the regular Red Army units and partisan detachments, and they proved themselves courageous, staunch and heroic fighters, men highly conscious of their international proletarian duty.

1918

"THE COMMON CAUSE OF THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES"

(*Pravda*'s report on the POW meeting in Petrograd)

German, Austrian, Czech and Hungarian prisoners of war, carrying red banners and singing songs, converged from various parts of the city on the Worker-Peasant House at the corner of Liteinaya and Kirochnaya streets at 4 p. m. on February 20, 1918. At 5 p. m. they gathered in its hall to protest against the invasion of the Soviet Republic by the German-Austrian imperialists, and par-

ticularly against the advance on Red Petrograd. The war prisoners looked very depressed....

At the same time, their speeches and their resolution, adopted unanimously by 600 men, showed that they were ready to defend the Revolution, the common cause of all the workers, to the last.

The prisoners of war knew very well that proletarian Russia had done everything to achieve peace. They knew that the bloody Kaiser had sent his troops to help the Russian bourgeoisie. But the German imperialists and their Russian bourgeois colleagues should bear in mind that the Russian proletariat is not alone! In this critical moment it has the support of many, many thousands of war prisoners. The situation now is different from the one obtaining during the 1871 Commune. The conditions and circumstances are different today, and we are sure of victory.

The orators were Kosipar (German), Béla Kun and Csuvara (Hungarians), Knoflíček (Czech) and Ragočević (Croat).

Csuvara, who spoke on behalf of the Tver POW organization, urged armed assistance to the Revolution.

The meeting ended with the singing of revolutionary songs and the adoption of a resolution which said *inter alia*:

"The new offensive of the German and Austro-Hungarian imperialism is an onslaught not only on revolutionary Russia, but on the common cause of the workers of all countries.... It is therefore the task and duty of every prisoner of war to defend the Soviet Republic against any onslaught with all his might and all the means he possesses. The meeting calls upon every prisoner of war to put himself at the disposal of the Revolution, to serve it with weapon in hand.

"Long live the struggle waged by the workers against the capitalists!

"Long live the world social revolution!

"Down with the bloody Wilhelm and Karl!"

TO ARMS!

(From the appeal of the Omsk Revolutionary Centre of the Hungarian POW's)

The socialist Motherland is in danger!

The imperialist robber-band wants to deprive us of it.

They want to suppress the revolution of the workers and peasants, place the tsar on his bloody throne, give the peasants' land to the landlords and take factories and plants from the workers.

To arms!—says the Government of Russian workers and peasants.

To arms!—say we, the revolutionary committee of the Hungarian prisoners of war.

Every Hungarian worker and peasant should join the Red Army, our Red Guard, to fight for freedom!

Come, brothers, join the Red Army to save the Russian Revolution!

Omsk, March 10, 1918

The First All-Russian Congress of the POW Revolutionary Organizations was held in April 1918. Here is an excerpt from the manifesto it adopted:

"Brother prisoners of war!

"The Russian Revolution has opened our eyes. We say: this war was not one in the interest of the peoples. It was started by the big robber states with the purpose of redividing the world.... Is any of these robber states your fatherland? Were you duty-bound to defend it? Was it worth sacrificing your blood and lives, freezing in the Siberian snows, dying on the Murmansk railway, crippling yourselves in the Ural forests in the interest of capitalists and plunderers? Is there any sense in your returning to the French, Italian or Balkan fronts, in suffering and shedding your blood again?

"Brother prisoners of war! We call upon you to follow us.... Defend the power of the workers and peasants!"

In the spring of 1918 *Izvestia of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies* published the

following statement by the headquarters of the detachment formed by English-speaking volunteers:

"Comrade internationalists! Join our detachment and contribute to its success!

"Comrades! The idea of the International is a great one, but we have many enemies who are militarily well organized and excellently trained. We can rebuff the enemy only if we ourselves are as well organized and trained. Lose no time. We must be prepared to repulse any onslaught on Soviet power.

"Volunteers are registered at 65, Moika Street, from 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. on weekdays and from 12 noon to 2 p. m. on Sundays."

THE DETACHMENT OF ARMED WORKERS

Here is what *Za Svobodu* (*For Freedom*), the organ of the Penza Red Army, wrote in the spring of 1918:

"The detachment of armed workers, recently formed in Murom, is growing in strength and now includes many internationalist volunteers from among the Hungarian, Czech, German and Slovak prisoners of war."

On May 9, 1918, *Pravda* wrote:

"The Red Army in Moscow is forming an International Legion which will unite militant revolutionaries of all nations.

"The Legion is open to all who want to fight for freedom and world revolution. Without knowing the Russian language or knowing it very little, you cannot join the Red Army. Join the ranks of the International Legion. It is open not only to foreigners, but to Russians too, provided they know some foreign language. Apart from this, admission and service are governed by the conditions obtaining in the Red Army of the Russian Federative Republic.

"Volunteers are registered daily from 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. at 2, Nizhny Lesnoy Lane, opposite the Cathedral of the Saviour."

THE POW CONGRESS

(From the reminiscences of Rudolf Harašín)

The All-Russian Congress of War Prisoners, held in what is now the Trade-Union Hall of Columns in Moscow on April 17, 1918, was attended by representatives of 500,000 prisoners of war. The delegates were chosen at meetings in camps and international units of the Red Army.

Most of those attending were Hungarians, Czechs, Yugoslavs, Austrians and Germans. The orators spoke of the misery the war brought to nations and declared that they would devote their lives to the sacred cause of the Revolution.

I was particularly deeply impressed by the speech of the Czech internationalist Částek, who described convincingly why he was helping the Russian workers and peasants. "Our duty," he said, "is to take up arms because the fate of the struggle which working people have been waging for centuries against the exploiters is being decided here in Russia."

The congress was a wonderful fillip to the revolutionary sentiments prevailing among the prisoners of war, and tens of thousands of internationalists joined the Red Army to fight in the great liberation struggle waged by the peoples of Russia.

I was, of course, one of them.

* * *

I happened to be in Moscow again shortly after the POW Congress.

When the July armed putsch, organized by imperialist intelligence organs and carried out by the Leftist Socialist-Revolutionaries, broke out, I was at the Pokrovsky Barracks where I went to see Ferencz Jancsik, commander of the Moscow International Battalion.

There were quite a few people in the room and it was very noisy. Suddenly the door opened and a tall, lean man in a mackintosh appeared on the threshold.

"I am Dzerzhinsky," he announced himself, and as the room grew silent he added: "Who is the commander here?"

When Jancsik introduced himself, Dzerzhinsky pulled out a map of Moscow and said:

"The Central Post and Telegraph Office is here, close to your barracks. It has been captured by the Leftist Socialist-Revolutionaries. We need your help, comrades. It is of utmost importance that we drive them out. Without telephone and telegraph we are cut off from the rest of the country."

Without saying a word, the men in the room took their guns and started going out.

"Thank you, comrades," was all Dzerzhinsky said.

The International Battalion joined a detachment of Russian workers, sailors and soldiers. The whole operation was personally directed by Dzerzhinsky, who explained that the task was to surprise the counter-revolutionaries and prevent them from destroying the communications.

We soon occupied all the streets leading to the post office and attacked the main and side entrances. It did not take us long to capture the building and disarm the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the tsarist officers. The equipment escaped damage.

Part of Jancsik's battalion remained to guard the post office while the rest, led by Dzerzhinsky, started mopping up Malaya Dmitrovka Street where the counter-revolutionaries were entrenched in a number of houses.

Fighting there was much more stubborn and lasted two whole days. We had to get into the occupied houses from the roofs of the neighbouring buildings and battle for every storey.

International detachments also took an active part in suppressing the Socialist-Revolutionary rebellion in Yaroslavl.

The counter-revolutionaries were at first successful. They surprised the Kudělka International Battalion which was guarding the District Soviet, disarmed the internationalists and brutally murdered many of them. The rest were herded on to a barge and taken to the middle of the

Volga. A week later they were saved from death by the Red Army, which had been sent to quell the rebellion.

Among the Red Army units dispatched to put down the revolt were the Moscow and Kostroma international battalions.

After sixteen days of fierce street fighting we drove the counter-revolutionaries out of Yaroslavl.

IN MEMORY OF ANTON HORÁK

Anton Horák, a Hungarian soldier of the International Battalion, was killed fighting the counter-revolutionary rebels in Moscow.

This poem was published by *Pravda* on July 12, 1918, the day after his funeral.

It breaks my heart just to recall that you and I were foes,
That No Man's Land and trenches divided you and me,
That we went into battle and into Hell's own jaws
To kill each other to the tune of booming artillery.
You were in camp, my Magyar friend, when our people rose,
When the workers of our country, bled white by war and torn,
Awoke to smash for ever the hated, bloody throne,
And raised aloft the sacred banner of glorious liberty.
A true son of the working class and strong as steel can be,
You proved yourself a worthy son of the world's big family.
You joined us as a friend in those days of storm and stress
To help our people, great and free, defend their happiness.
In the bitter struggle for the labour's power
We became friends whom nothing could part,
And together we two in that fateful hour
Fought those who our life had so badly scarred.

RED ARMY MAN

* * *

In that same issue *Pravda* carried a report on the funeral of this revolutionary hero.

The clouds hung heavily in the grey sky as the funeral procession left the Kremlin....

The coffin with the remains of Anton Horák was in an automobile draped with scarlet cloth.

There were wreaths of scarlet flowers....

And scarlet ribbons....

The coffin was followed by the fighters of the First Moscow International Battalion, Lett fusiliers with their own band, representatives of the International Federation of Foreign Groups.

The scarlet banner was waving in the wind.

The mournful, solemn strains of the funeral march filled the air.

This "stranger" who gave his life in defence of our Worker-Peasant Republic seemed infinitely near and dear to us.

The grave in Red Square, off the Kremlin wall.

The crowd surrounded the last resting place. The guns roared in salute. Orators made fiery speeches—K. Thomann (on behalf of the German group), Béla Kun (Hungarian), Munar (Czech), Marković (Yugoslav), Pescariu (Rumanian) and Caune (Lett fusiliers).

And although these speeches were made in different languages, they all spoke of one and the same thing: preparedness to sacrifice everything for the ideals of workers' international brotherhood.

YUGOSLAVS IN THE BATTLE FOR TSARITSYN

(From the reminiscences of Danijil Serdić, Commander at the Yugoslav International Regiment)

The Yugoslav International Regiment, retreating from the Ukraine to Tsaritsyn, was constantly attacked by the *Haidamaks* and bandits. The life-and-death engagement lasted several days.

The regiment got to Tsaritsyn in the night and the first thing I was asked was whether we were prepared to go into battle against the White Cossacks. I replied in the affirmative.

The reorganization of our unit took two weeks. We were reinforced by a Serbian unit from Saratov who came with the tank they had captured from the enemy.

We were given a rousing send-off when we left for the front on May 22, 1918. The men had not yet got out of the carriages at Log Railway Station when the enemy opened up with his artillery.

The battle against the numerically superior White Cossacks lasted three days.

The Serbian Second Company heroically repulsed the attacks of the enemy cavalry, fighting to the last round. Seeing that the fire was becoming desultory, the Cossacks outflanked the Serbs and made short work of them.

The internationalists fought literally to the last man. The only man to remain alive, one Zupinović, galloped away on the commander's horse to tell us what had happened. The Fourth Company, composed of Slovens, Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins and Chinese, rushed to the rescue, but came too late to save the situation. Our comrades had all died on the field of battle.

After ten days of stubborn fighting, the company returned to Tsaritsyn. On K. Y. Voroshilov's orders, the three revolutionary Serbian detachments were reorganized at Chorny Yar into the First Yugoslav International Regiment, which immediately went into battle against the White cavalry. Many of our comrades died in the Chorny Yar Steppe, but the enemy did not escape unscathed either: the Yugoslav communards rarely missed when they fired or used their swords.

In the autumn of 1918, the infantry units of our regiment merged with the 37th Rifle Division, while the cavalry squadron joined Budyonny's cavalry army.

Yugoslav units and fighters displayed feats of unparalleled heroism. Suffice it to recall the legendary Oleko Dundić and Lazar Čolić. These two would disguise as Serbian officers, go to the White camp and return with intelligence.

There was also Dmitri Georgijević, commander of a machine-gun platoon. One day, covering up the retreat of a Red cavalry unit across the frozen Volga, his men fell one after another and Georgijević was left all alone. Undaunted, he fought on with the Whiteguard cavalry until the last shot.

"I FOUGHT FOR FREEDOM, AND YOU?"

The Czechoslovak prisoners of war flocked to Penza and it was there that a Czechoslovak revolutionary regiment was formed in the spring of 1918. It was fated to encounter the enemy very soon after that.

"In May there were several trainfuls of Czech legionnaires in Penza," Adolf Šípek, commander of the Pensa Czechoslovak Regiment, recalled. "The legionnaires were reactionary-minded, hated Soviet power and wanted to get to Kolchak in Siberia. There were slightly less than 4,000 of them. We had 700 fighters against them—our revolutionary regiment and a detachment of local workers.

"We would not let them do as they wished and the situation grew tenser with each passing day. Finally, on May 28, they opened fire.

"The Penza Soviet entrusted me with the defence of the town. Bitter street fighting lasted for two days. This was the first encounter between the armed Czechoslovak proletariat and Czechoslovak bourgeoisie. Our losses amounted to 120 dead, and their names are inscribed in the annals of the Czechoslovak workers' struggle."

Eyewitnesses related, and the people remember, the last words of a fighter of the Penza Czechoslovak Revolutionary Regiment. Skoták—that was the name of the man—lost touch with his friends and fell into the legionnaires' hands. These dandies, sons of shopkeepers and kulaks, first beat him up and then decided to shoot him. Facing the firing squad, he said in a firm voice:

"I fought for freedom, and you?"

The Czechoslovak Communist and Social-Democratic Workers' parties were holding a congress in Moscow in those days. The congress adopted a message to the Russian comrades, saying:

"Comrades! We Czechoslovak workers take this opportunity to inform you that we have firmly decided to or-

ganize Czechoslovak units within the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Red Army.

"Like the proletarians of Austro-Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, whom the war had thrown out of their countries, we Czechoslovak workers are on your side in this bitter struggle for the liberation of mankind from the misery of imperialism."

The congress worked out and approved "The Rules of Admission of Volunteers to the Czechoslovak Units of the Russian Workers and Peasants' Red Army." This document said:

"The aims of the Czechoslovak units of the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Red Army are:

"1) to organize disciplined armed forces manned by the Czechoslovak workers residing at present in the Russian Soviet Republic;

"2) to overthrow the imperialist-capitalist yoke;

"3) to carry out the sacred slogans of socialism and contribute to the triumph of the Revolution.

"Every man in the army is a fighter for victory of the social revolution and for the implementation of the great ideals of socialism, a defender of the human rights of the oppressed masses.

"He must be morally staunch, boundlessly devoted to this idea and the Army, truthful and brave; he must implicitly obey his commander, conscientiously carry out his duties, patiently endure all hardships and privations, help his comrades by word and deed, assist them in battle without sparing his life."

About 4,000 Czech volunteers joined the Red Army shortly after the revolt of the Czechoslovak legionnaires—a revolt that was organized and well financed by the imperialists (apart from the fourfold increase in pay they got on the day they attacked Soviet power, the legionnaires received 11 million rubles from France and 3.5 million from Britain). Altogether there were nearly 10,000 Czechs and Slovaks in the Red Army during the intervention and Civil War years.

Fighting side by side with their Russian brothers, they displayed unparalleled selflessness and endurance.

THE GERMAN HERO HUGO KALGOW AND HIS COMRADES-IN-ARMS

"I have learned confidentially that the older German troops here do not always show themselves well in heavy fighting and express discontent with having to fight for the Hetman against the people," Herr Forgács, Austro-Hungarian ambassador in the Ukraine, reported in alarm to Vienna in the summer of 1918.

The ambassador was deliberately palatalizing the situation: German and Austrian soldiers were doing more than just "express discontent"; whole groups were going over to the Ukrainian people who had risen in defence of Soviet power.

A peasant uprising broke out in the Zvenigorod area near Kiev in June 1918 and the occupation authorities immediately dispatched a punitive expedition against the insurgents. In vain did the officers order the soldiers to fire on the peasants. The soldiers held a meeting, at which they decided not to resist the insurgents and to hand all the arms over to them. And this they did there and then.

One of the first German war prisoners to come to the defence of Soviet power in Siberia was Hugo Kalgow. In September 1918, the Whiteguards shot him in Krasnoyarsk. He met death like a hero: with the guns facing him, he reiterated his faith in the victory of the socialist cause.

On December 7, 1918, *Pravda* carried the following cable:

"German soldiers have surrounded 3,000 Whiteguards in Drissa and are waiting for Soviet troops to hand them over."

REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTERS FROM CHINA

On June 13, 1918, the *Krasnaya Armia* newspaper published an article entitled "Coolies Awakened by Revolution."

Below is an excerpt:

"We already have international battalions formed by the French, British, German and Austrian workers.

"The Revolution has also awakened the Chinese coolies whom fate had brought to Russia. According to *Morshanskiye Izvestia*, they have organized a regiment of their own and it is now fighting for socialism in the South.

"The organizer is one Sang Fu-yang, a man who had known poverty and misery since his childhood, a member of the Chinese Socialist Party, an active participant in the Revolution.

"At the time of the Rumanian offensive against the Soviet troops, he offered the Congress of the Second Revolutionary Army in Tiraspol to form Chinese Red battalions.

"These battalions are recruited exclusively from among poor peasants, workers and miners. The majority are the so-called coolies....

"Strict discipline and endurance make them staunch fighters.

"There are already more than 1,800 Chinese Red Army men, and the number is constantly increasing.

"Formation of Chinese battalions is proceeding especially successfully in Samara and Siberia, which are expected to send at least 10,000 men.

"The Chinese follow the progress of the Russian Revolution with keen interest. They hold meetings almost every day. A Chinese Bolshevik newspaper, to service these Red battalions, is expected to come out in the near future."

In the summer of 1918 the districts inhabited by Chinese workers in Moscow were pasted up with posters carrying an appeal to all the Chinese Socialists.

This is what it said:

"Comrades! We appeal to you who have left the Chinese bourgeois republic where the coolies are subjected to indescribable oppression, to you who have sought refuge in Soviet Russia, to you revolutionaries in a revolutionary country, to join us.

"One thousand and eight hundred of us fought against

the capitalist hordes of Rumanians, *Haidamaks* and Germans, and we shall not down our arms until we either perish or the forces of the world counter-revolution are defeated.

"Our revolutionary Chinese brothers! Join us if you are for the liberation of the enslaved! Join us in the defence of the power of the workers and peasants! All the obstacles and walls will collapse and the emancipated coolies of China will join the victorious proletariat of the world.

"Comrades! Join the Chinese Battalion of the Red Army. Let us subordinate our will to revolutionary discipline and serry our ranks in the struggle against the capitalist armies.

"Chinese volunteers are registered at the headquarters of the International Legion of the Red Army, 2/2 Nizhny Lesnoi Lane, Moscow.

"*SANG FU-YANG*,
"Commander of the Battalion."

Li Hsi-huai, one of the participants in the fighting against the interventionists and Whiteguards, relates:

"I heard that on the eve of the Revolution there were some 200,000 Chinese in Russia. I was one of them.

"The war was raging, and there was a lack of factory workers, miners, road builders and loggers. Big groups of us were recruited in China for these jobs. The pay was small, food bad, and yet we went because it was harder still to earn enough for a bowl of rice at home.

"Most of the Chinese working in Russia came from the north-eastern provinces. We spoke the same dialect, and that proved very useful when the Revolution broke out in Russia. The agitators of the All-Russian Union of Chinese Workers, who came to our barracks, experienced no difficulty in making themselves understood when they spoke of the Russian Revolution. The same thing applied to the leaflets and to the Chinese-language newspaper which first came out in Petrograd in 1918. As soon as someone started reading it aloud, he would be surrounded by a crowd.

"The more we understood of the Russian affairs, the clearer it became that the truth was on the side of the Bolsheviks. We called the Bolshevik Party 'Red Party' and literally devoured every word its leader Lenin uttered.

"When we heard that Lenin was calling upon the workers to join the Red Army, many of us responded to his call and volunteered.

"There were 500 men in our Chinese battalion and we fought in the Volga, Kiev and many other sectors.

"At the front we heard about other Chinese units of the Red Army. I learned about the Chinese detachment organized in Petrograd in 1918, about the Chinese battalion formed at about the same time in Moscow by Sang Fu-yang, about the tens of thousands of Chinese who joined the Red Army in Siberia, about the 18th Chinese Company of the Ninth Rifle Division which fought in the South. This company, I was told, was made up entirely of miners from Donbas and was commanded by Li Shu-ang, with Wei Ping-cheng as his deputy.

"There were many stories about the Chinese battalion in the Urals, which formed part of the famous Russian 'Red Falcon' Regiment. This regiment was a splendid fighting unit and the Chinese were by far not the least courageous of its fighters.

"The Russians wondered how we could fire squatting down. 'Why do you sit?' they would ask us. 'Why expose yourselves to the bullets? You should lie down.' At first we would not listen to them. It was more convenient sitting down: you could see better where and at whom you were firing, whether your shot hit the target. And you felt much better when you knew that your shot was not in vain, that you had destroyed another enemy.

"We fought for the cause of the Russian workers and peasants as if it were our own cause. Why did we think so? Because we pursued the same aim. We knew that by smashing the chain fettering them, the working people of Russia would weaken the chain shackling the working people of China.

"And that is exactly what happened."

PENG TI-SANG'S DETACHMENT

1

(From the reminiscences of Grigory Tretyakov)

In the summer of 1918, the First Kharkov Partisan Detachment under my command was retreating from the Ukraine towards Taganrog. On the way—I don't remember exactly where—we were approached by a group of ten Chinese who asked to join us, saying that they wanted to fight for Soviet power.

We were, naturally, glad to have reinforcements, so we put the men on our rolls and issued them arms.

Later, as we advanced towards Vladikavkaz, we were joined by another 50 Chinese. It was thus that an international unit formed itself within my detachment. A further 250 Chinese joined us in Vladikavkaz, and we first formed two companies and then reorganized them into a Chinese battalion under the command of Peng Ti-sang, a Communist whom we called Kostya for short.

The battalion got its standard from the hands of S. M. Kirov, one of the founders of the Soviet state. I still remember the words with which he finished his fiery speech at that meeting: "In fighting for the triumph of the Revolution in Russia, you are fighting for the liberation of oppressed China. The time will come when the Russian workers will extend a fraternal hand to the heroic Chinese people, who will free themselves from the oppressors."

Speaking on behalf of the fighters, Commander Peng Ti-sang said:

"Revolutionary Russia has become our second Motherland and we swear we shall fight for her and the revolutionary cause."

And the Chinese comrades kept the promise they had solemnly given.

We faced many trials in the summer of 1918. In their attempt to recover the power they had lost, the British-supported Caucasian and Cossack bourgeoisie stirred up a counter-revolutionary rebellion on the Terek. In July,

Bicherakhov's Whiteguard bands captured Mozdok, Nalchik and the strategically extremely important Prokhladnaya.

The situation was fraught with danger. Units of armed workers were being formed in Grozny and Vladikavkaz, the munitions plants were manufacturing hand-grenades and armoured trains. On the instructions of G. Orjonikidze, who was at the time in Vladikavkaz and who highly esteemed the fighting capacity of the Chinese detachment, the Chinese were supplied with light machine-guns.

In the battle for Vladikavkaz that August the Chinese fighters covered themselves with glory. A group of scouts, among them Li Cheng-tung, one night crossed the turbulent mountain Mozdok River on a raft. Armed with a machine-gun and grenades, they took the Whiteguards by surprise from the rear and threw them into a panic. The worker units took advantage of that and smashed through across the bridge. On the following day the Soviet forces stormed Prokhladnaya.

The Chinese fighters also proved themselves heroes in the fighting for Grozny and in the battle for Yermolovskaya Station, where they went into a bayonet charge against an enemy infantry battalion and put it to flight. A Red Army cavalry unit made good use of this breakthrough.

Our Chinese comrades-in-arms fought selflessly for Soviet power.

2

(From the reminiscences of Colonel P. Kobaidze)

Many years have passed since those days when I fought shoulder to shoulder with the Chinese Vladikavkaz Detachment under the command of Peng Ti-sang. In these years I have seen and experienced a lot, but I have never forgotten my Chinese comrades-in-arms, men of crystal-pure souls and vast courage.

Peng Ti-sang, or Kostya, as he was called, was an educated, talented man, a man of great intellect and,

I would say, an excellent organizer. He spoke perfect Russian. As far as I remember Kostya studied at the Petersburg Technological Institute. I heard that he was brought to Russia from China as a child, that he grew up in a Russian general's home.

It is difficult to say if that was actually so, but then it is not really important. I only know that Peng Ti-sang was a Communist, that he considered himself a real Chinese and always stressed so. He often said that the October Socialist Revolution would arouse the great Chinese people and that the friendship between socialist Russia and socialist China would exert a tremendous influence on the destinies of mankind. Even in the grimmest days for the Soviet Republic he was deeply convinced that the revolutionary forces would win, and completely devoted himself to the struggle for the workers' power.

This faith in the socialist revolution, the belief that the war in Russia was deciding not only the destiny of the Russian people, but that of all the other peoples, including the Chinese, was shared by all the Chinese fighters. The selflessness with which they fought against the Whiteguards was simply wonderful. It was revealed with particular force in those memorable days of August 1918, when Bicherakhov's bands, acting on the instructions of the foreign interventionists, and the counter-revolutionary elements in Vladikavkaz captured the centre of the town and proceeded to attack the workers' settlements on the outskirts.

The Red Army units, the Chinese detachment among them, were stationed in all parts of the town. Taken by surprise, they had to fight the rebels each by itself. Excellently organized, trained and armed to the teeth, the officers' and Cossack bands were a very strong force.

But even enjoying all these advantages, they could not break down the resistance of the Red Army fighters and the armed workers.

One Chinese group, I remember, was waging an uneven battle against the Whiteguards near the residence of Baron Steingel. For five days the Chinese resisted and when all the ammunition was gone, they fought back with bay-

onets and rifle butts. In the end, there were only three fighters left, wounded and exhausted. Outnumbered one to ten, they fell into the hands of the Whiteguards who dealt with them with utter brutality: first they carved out five-pointed stars on their backs and then hanged them from the trees by their hands....

By the time our fighters had driven the enemy off, two of them were already dead. The first thing the third said when he recovered consciousness was: "Where's my gun?" He was thinking of the struggle even when still too weak to stand on his feet.

Another group of fighters from Peng Ti-sang's detachment were surrounded by the Whiteguards. The Chinese held out for ten days, beating off one attack after another, fighting day and night. They had no water, no food, and very little ammunition. The Whiteguard putsch was quelled on the eleventh day, Bicherakhov's bandits and the Cossacks fled the town, and the siege was lifted.

All that was two score years ago, but even today people in Vladikavkaz think with respect and gratitude of the fighters of Kostya's detachment, of these Chinese defenders of the October Socialist Revolution.

LENIN'S ADDRESS TO THE WARSAW REVOLUTIONARY REGIMENT

The Warsaw Revolutionary Regiment, made up entirely of Polish volunteers, was one of the first major foreign units of the Red Army. It fought in numerous encounters with the interventionists and Whiteguards, displaying valour and staunchness in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces which tried to stab the Soviet state in the back—the Whiteguard rebels in Yaroslavl, the anarchist bands, and so on.

On August 2, 1918, the regiment was leaving Moscow for the front and a great many people came to see it off. There was a meeting at the station and V. I. Lenin's appearance was greeted by the Polish volunteers and the crowd with stormy applause and the singing of the *Internationale*.

In his speech, Lenin said:

"We, the Polish and the Russian revolutionaries, have but one desire and that is to do everything to safeguard the achievements of the first mighty socialist revolution....

"The working people of Russia," he further said, "have a reliable ally in their struggle—the international proletariat, and because of that no enemy plots can ever prevent the victorious achievement of the Revolution.

"Your task, now that you are going to the front, is above all to remember that this war of the oppressed and the exploited against the oppressors and the plunderers is the only war that is lawful, just and sacred.

"We are now witnessing the formation of the international alliance of revolutionaries, a thing the best of the people dreamed of, a real alliance of workers and not of intellectual dreamers."

Apart from the Warsaw Revolutionary Regiment (which was later joined by fighters from Belgorod), there were two other Polish units formed that summer: the Red Lublin Regiment in Voronezh and a cavalry squadron made up of the uhlans who had sided with the Revolution, in Borisoglebsk. There was, moreover, the Polish Western Division of three brigades.

The Polish units fought against Krasnov's White Cossack regiments and waged offensive battles on the Western Front. In December 1918, they helped the Red Army to liberate Minsk, which later became the capital of Byelorussia.

"I DIE FOR TRUTH"

In August 1918, when the young Red Army in the Far East was fighting against numerically superior and better armed interventionist and Whiteguard forces, former prisoners of war organized an International Legion in Blagoveshchensk. On the 18th of that month they published a manifesto in the newspaper *Zemlya i Sotrudnichestvo* (*Land and Cooperation*), in which they announced that they considered themselves part of the Red Army.

"We want to uphold the cause of the freedom which our Russian comrades won in bitter struggle and defend it against all counter-revolutionary attempts."

The Legion fought selflessly against the foes of the Soviet people, but it could not do the impossible: there were dozens of enemy soldiers against each legionnaire. The interventionists and Whiteguards dealt cruelly with the internationalists they captured (most of them wounded). They were all shot.

One of these heroes, Josef Konrad, wrote a letter to his mother on the eve of his execution in Blagoveshchensk. This letter, preserved to our day, says:

"Dear Mother,

"Please forgive your hapless son for the grief he is causing you. These lines will be my last as I am to be executed within a few hours. I know that you hope to see me again, but fate has willed it otherwise. Do not grieve. I fought for a just cause, for truth, for the freedom of all nations, and I am facing my doom calmly and firmly as befits a man. The verdict passed on us international fighters for freedom is a bit cruel: we are to be shot by a firing squad. This evening seventeen of my comrades and I will be shot, many have already preceded us, going to their death cheerfully, firmly and courageously. I die for truth and justice. Dear Mother, do not grieve for me and forgive me. I am proud that I am dying for truth and the freedom of all nations,and you, Mother, should be proud of your son, because it could not have been otherwise. May Father, Martha, Maria and Anna forgive me.

"Once again my last regards to all of you, to all who are dear to me: to my dear brother Anton, to Anna and Bertha....

"Good-bye and remember your devoted Josef, who died for freedom and truth in Blagoveshchensk in November 1918. My best regards and wishes to my beloved fiancée, her parents, brothers and sisters....

"And one last request: join me in greeting the young republic in Austria and Germany.

"Long live socialism!!!"

INDIANS IN NIKOLAI GIKALO'S DETACHMENT

In the ranks of the international units of the Red Army fighting in South Russia there were Indians as well.

They came to the Transcaucasus from Iran in 1918 with the British Army of occupation. The British officers, who feared the "contagion of Red ideas," kept a close eye on them and prohibited contacts with the local population.

But their precautions did not help. Revolutionary ideas penetrated the thick barrack walls. There was unrest among the Indian troops and some soldiers turned their bayonets on the British and joined the Red Army.

There are facts extant about the Indians in Nikolai Gikalo's detachment, active in the mountainous country of Daghestan and Kabarda. Murtuza Ali, an Indian officer of the detachment, is well remembered for his bravery. He was the terror of the White Cossacks. Legends were told of his courage, intrepidity and quick wit.

The *Communist Path*, a Pyatigorsk journal, wrote in 1922 that Murtuza Ali was one of the last in Gikalo's group—an elusive mountain fighter, the terror of the "White" troops, he swooped down like a falcon upon the enemy.

Vera Fyodorovna Gikalo, sister of the Civil War hero, has many recollections of the internationalists in her brother's detachment.

"When I read today about the fraternal bonds of the two great people—the Soviet and Indian," she says, "I think back to the gallant and modest internationalist fighters. There may have been only a handful of them, but like the brave Murtuza Ali, they did not spare their lives in the fight.

"Our friendship, sealed with the blood shed in battle—the friendship of nations, will live for all time."

BÉLA KUN WAS ONE OF THEM

Béla Kun joined the Hungarian Social-Democratic labour movement when still a schoolboy and went in for party work heart and soul.

The Tomsk POW camp—a blending of army barracks and prison camp—offered a broad field of revolutionary activity for him. Thousands of German, Austrian and Hungarian prisoners of war could not help wondering for whose sake they had been made to suffer, and what evil force had driven them into the senseless war. Béla Kun and his comrades opened their eyes to it.

Between February and October 1917 Béla Kun worked with the Tomsk Gubernia Committee of the Bolshevik Party and helped to edit the Bolshevik *Siberian Worker*, a journal, and the daily *Revolution Banner*.

When the German troops launched their offensive against Petrograd Béla Kun went to the front lines with a Red Guard unit. Followed a busy period in which Béla Kun formed international Red Army units.

Béla Kun led an international detachment that fought for the main Post-Office during the Socialist-Revolutionary Party revolt in Moscow, and was instrumental in capturing part of the Socialist-Revolutionaries' headquarters.

After Moscow came the Ukraine. There Béla Kun conducted propaganda work among the German and Austro-Hungarian troops. Then followed the Urals. International Red Army units took part in the fighting there, and Béla Kun was with them.

Late in 1918 Béla Kun went to Hungary. He took an active part in organizing the Hungarian Communist Party and became one of its leaders. He was People's Commissar for Foreign Policy and member of the collegium of the Commissariat for Military Affairs in the Hungarian Soviet Government.

He escaped the nightmare of the Hungarian counter-revolution, returned to Soviet Russia and went to war again, on the Southern Front, against Wrangel.

There are people who cannot think of life without revolutionary struggle. Béla Kun was one of them.

1919

IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PROLETARIAT

(From the minutes of the general meeting of the foreign soldiers of the Red Army at Charjui, Turkestan)

Heard:	*Resolved:*
Re-dispatch to the Western Front	Striving to defend the interests of the proletariat against world bourgeoisie, we demand the immediate merger of all the Transcaspian foreign units into one detachment and its dispatch to the Western Front. This just demand is motivated by the unshakable desire of every foreign soldier to fight and, if need be, die for the interests of the proletariat.

Chairman: *SABOW*
Secretary: *MADÁR*

Charjui,
April 9, 1919

"THE ONLY OASIS IN THE WORLD"

(Resolution adopted by war prisoners at a meeting in Chelyabinsk)

The Russian Soviet Socialist Republic is the only oasis in the world where the power of the bourgeoisie has been overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat established. World imperialism is doing everything in its power to suppress the Russian Revolution which is

inspiring proletarian struggle everywhere. In this it is assisted by the parties which, while calling themselves Socialist, trampled the ideals of the International in the very first days of the war in August 1914 and became direct and indirect accomplices of the bourgeoisie.

The defeat of the Russian Revolution would be a most serious blow to the cause of the world revolution and delay the emancipation of the working people.

The 600 prisoners of war—Hungarians, Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Rumanians and Poles—gathered at the meeting in Chelyabinsk on August 28, have resolved to defend the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, the outpost of the world revolution, with weapon in hand.

IN THE FLAMES OF BATTLE

(From a war communiqué)

"After stubborn fighting lasting six hours units of the International Regiment on February 20 occupied Berdyashevo and moved towards Zavod Preobrazhensky. The conditions are extremely difficult, for the deep snowdrifts compel the units to dismantle their guns before moving them. At Kuvandyk Station we captured ten locomotives, two of them in running order, fifty carriages and one light three-inch gun."

The Commander of the 216th International Regiment reports:

"I wish to report that we occupied Berdyashevo Village after a fight lasting six hours. On the Cossack side there were 1,500 infantry and cavalry men and three 3-inch guns. The battle was waged energetically, courageously and in perfect order. The powerful attack the Hungarians undertook despite the absence of artillery caused the Cossacks to retreat. Our soldiers feel splendid."

GERMAN FIGHTERS

Below is the certificate issued in June 1919 to a group of German Red Army volunteers by the City Soviet of Nikolayev (Ukraine): "This group of German Spartacists has proved to be a trustworthy, responsible and disciplined military unit on which the Soviet authorities in Nikolayev relied in the struggle against Grigoryev's bands. Taking part in the operations against these bands, the Spartacist group carried out important war assignments."

BAYONET CHARGE

(Communiqué on the operations of the Second International Regiment in the Poltava Sector)

"The regiment drove the enemy out of Iskrovka Village and pursued him to Koloman Station. Just before the steam mill, the right flank—the First Hungarian and the Seventh companies—ran into machine-gun fire from a thicket. Though sustaining heavy losses, they did not waver. A bayonet charge dislodged the enemy.

FOR VALOUR

The Order of the Red Banner is awarded to Chu-ching Ling-asijan, section commander of the Regimental School of the 81st Regiment, for valour displayed in the course of a reconnaissance assignment behind the enemy lines in the area of Volchye Village (Eastern Front) in September 1919. Though wounded, he captured two machine-gunners and one machine-gun.

MICHELE GODONI, THE ITALIAN SOLDIER

"The child of sunny Italy" is how his comrades-in-arms called him. One of them wrote in his memoirs: "This fiery and open-hearted youth, scarcely aware of what was

going on around him, went through the world holocaust, was taken prisoner by the Austrians on the Adriatic coast and was passed on by them into a war prisoner camp in Russia. He went passively from one camp to another, and it was only the October Revolution that set his heart afire. Godoni first signed up with the Red Guards and then the Red Army.

"He fought on many fronts and people remember him as a merry, desperately brave man. One September night in 1919, twenty-two Red cavalrymen were surprised by 200 Cossacks in Kalachnaya Village. They fought to the last.

"Three hours later we recaptured the village. Our grief was indescribable when we saw the bodies of our comrades in pools of blood. Among those who had been severely wounded fighting for the Soviets was Michele Godoni, a son of Italy."

UNKNOWN HEROES

That is how *Izvestia of the Velikie Luki Soviet of Workers' Deputies* captioned the letter from the front it published on July 15, 1919.

The letter said:

"In the civil war against the bourgeoisie it is not superiority in armaments but the people's belief in the justice of their cause that brings victory to the Revolution. There are so many heroes that heroism becomes an everyday occurrence. Our task is immediately to inform the workers and peasants, who thirst for news from the front, of the exceptional heroism displayed by their brothers.

"Here is one case as related by Commander L. of the X Brigade (Western Front).

"Because of the small number of units taking part in the hostilities and the broken ground, the two sides often resort to encirclement, outflanking and other movements. Part of the company was encircled and all the riflemen were killed. In the machine-gun platoon there was a group

of Chinese, the best fighters in the company. Left alone, they destroyed many enemy soldiers. But soon their ammunition ran out and, too proud to surrender, they stood up and shot one another before the very eyes of the enemy. They did their duty to the end, and thus enabled the neighbouring units to escape danger and to recover.

"Chinese workers, far from their native land, sacrificing their lives on the altar of Revolution—isn't that a revolutionary triumph over all the capitalist prejudices and survivals? These unknown heroes will live for ever in the memory of the Russian workers and peasants."

THE CHINESE INTERNATIONALISTS REFUTE SLANDER

A stern rebuff to enemy slander has been given by the Chinese internationalists. A recent meeting, addressed by Lu I-wen, a unit commander, Chang Hai-cheng, a political commissar, Chai Hai-ting and Voznesensky, head of the Eastern Department of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"Having condemned the intrigues of the Entente agents, who are trying to persuade public opinion that the Chinese units of the Red Army are forcibly recruited, the meeting of the Chinese Red Army men has the following to state:

"The Entente and its agents are making vain attempts to vilify the voluntary formation of Chinese international units in Russia and Siberia. The Chinese Red Army international detachments in Russia are being formed solely by the Chinese worker organizations, under Chinese command, and recruited exclusively and on a voluntary basis from among Chinese revolutionaries.

"We Chinese are shedding our blood for the liberation of the peoples from the capitalist yoke and for world revolution. The Chinese international units call upon their comrades to reply to the vile slander of the Entente's agents by redoubling their efforts in forming new units to fight for the proletariat's final victory over capitalism."

KOREAN PARTISANS

Korean partisan detachments first came into being in Suchan early in 1919, after the Japanese occupation of the Maritime Province in the Far East. The first detachment, led by Han Chang Ger, consisted of 45-50 men, and the second, headed by Mikhail Pak, of 25. Coordinating their activities with the Russian partisans, these detachments wrote in many pages of heroism into the annals of the Civil War.

POLISH RED ARMY COMMANDERS

There were a number of Polish units in the Red Army, among them the Warsaw Revolutionary Regiment, the Borewicz Regiment, the Lublin Regiment, the Red Warsaw Regiment in Vitebsk, the Siedlce Regiment, the Minsk Regiment, the Grodno Regiment, the Vilno Regiment, the Suwalki Regiment, the Warsaw Red Hussar Regiment, the Mazowiecki Red Uhlan Regiment, and the Second Polish Red Artillery Division.

The Western Polish Rifle Division, the biggest Polish unit in the Red Army, had its own officers' school. Poland's outstanding revolutionary, Julian Marchlewski, was both a lecturer and honorary student at this school.

The oath Polish Red commanders took was as follows:

"I swear that I shall defend, at the first call of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, the Soviet Republic from all dangers and intrigues of its enemies and shall fight in the name of the Soviet Republic for the cause of socialism and the brotherhood of nations and that in this I shall spare neither my strength nor my life!"

The first detachment of Red commanders graduated by this school left for the front on July 26, 1919. They displayed heroism on many fronts of the Civil War.

THE WEAPON OF JAROSLAV HAŠEK

Jaroslav Hašek (1883-1923) was one of the biggest writers of Czechoslovakia and his works, notably his satire *The Adventures of the Good Soldier, Schweik,* brought him world fame.

Hašek was in Russia at the time of the October Revolution and immediately became an ardent champion of Soviet power which, he said, was "the embodiment of the great aspirations of mankind."

He joined the Red Army at the very beginning of the intervention and Civil War. Sharing with soldiers all the hardships and dangers of front-line life, he edited soldiers' newspapers, wrote articles and satires for the Red Army men—and generally devoted all his energy and gifts to the liberation struggle of the Soviet people. The pen was his trusty weapon.

Appealing to the Czech and Slovak soldiers, whom the command was trying to evacuate to France via Siberia, he said:

"They want to take you away from the revolutionary influence to France. You are going to France instead of taking part in the regeneration of the Russian army, instead of participating actively in the Russian Revolution and helping the Russian people to strengthen the Soviet Republic which is radiating rays of liberation for the whole world and our people.

"We must remain here! All of us who know that we are the descendants of the Taborites, the first Socialists-Communists in Europe, must remain here! And every Czech knows that! Our political future is here and by no means in the West. We must help Russia!"

Hašek wrote that the enemies of Soviet Russia were the mortal enemies of the Czech and Slovak peoples.

"I tell you straight, revolutionary soldiers! Help the Russian Revolution! If you agree with us, join our ranks.... Let us join the Russian republican army.

"Have faith in the Russian Revolution, think calmly over this appeal and if you agree with it, join the Czechoslovak units of the Red Russian Revolutionary Army."

Hašek followed the army all the way from Simbirsk to Irkutsk. This is how he described his work in this period:

"I am burdened with all sorts of responsible duties.... I am editor and publisher of three magazines: a German for which I write the articles myself, a Hungarian in which I have collaborators, and a Buryat-Mongolian for which I write all the articles—don't be afraid—not in Mongolian but in Russian—I have translators.

"Then the Revolutionary Military Council wants me to publish a Korean-Chinese magazine. But here, I must confess, I don't know what to do. I have organized the Chinese, but I know very little of the Chinese language: of its 86,000 hieroglyphs I know only 80. To top all that, since yesterday I am on the editorial board of the *Political Workers' Bulletin....*"

Hašek returned to Czechoslovakia at the end of 1920.

Below are some excerpts from one of his satires, published in Russian in the front-line newspaper *Nash Put* (*Our Path*) on January 14, 1919. According to the former editor of this newspaper, it was "very popular with our readers." The Red Army men, he said, laughed heartily at the "experiences" of the Ufa "patriot."

FROM THE DIARY OF AN UFA BOURGEOIS

It is said that the Bolsheviks have occupied Kazan. Bishop Andrei has ordered a three-month fast and from tomorrow on we shall eat potatoes with hempseed oil three times a day. Long live the Constituent Assembly! The officer who lodges with us has borrowed 2,000 rubles from me.

All this jabber about the capture of Kazan by the Reds differs from former rumours in that this time there are definite grounds for such a claim. Our troops have evacuated Kazan because, the officer told me confidentially, some two million German soldiers had arrived there. The Reds skinned alive all the merchants—men and women they took prisoner in Kazan—and are now using the skin to print the orders of the Extraordinary Investigation Com-

mission. Refugees from Kazan are due here any moment, people say. Well, I'd better hoard the sugar, it will go up in price. Kazan people have lots of money. Long live the Constituent Assembly!

The Bolsheviks have also captured Simbirsk, they say. Our troops blew up the bridge across the Volga. My uncle had made 500,000 rubles on the construction of this bridge. Officers say that the fall of Simbirsk is absolutely unimportant, it's part of a strategic plan. Our officer lodger has stolen my gold cigarette case. Long live the Constituent Assembly!

The first party of Kazan and Simbirsk refugees arrived in Ufa today. On the way here they were stopped by mistake and robbed by Orenburg Cossacks. We gave them a rousing welcome. I drank two bottles of brandy and denounced our porter to the authorities as a Bolshevik. He was sent to jail.

The papers report that in Simbirsk the Bolsheviks took all the children of the rich from their parents and put them in Chinese homes. Prayers are being said in all the churches. The bishop has asked all the Orthodox Christians to observe the fast, for the Bolsheviks are advancing on Samara.

I ate a bit of ham yesterday, and in the evening there came the report that Samara had fallen. One of the committee members of the Constituent Assembly was sent to a lunatic asylum directly from the Public Club when he claimed that the fall of Samara was of no importance. More refugees are coming in. They say that the Bolsheviks are beheading absolutely all the bourgeois. The heads are sent in special trains to Moscow where they are embalmed and stored in the Kremlin.

One captain related at the Aristocratic Club yesterday that the Bolsheviks were scalding the bourgeois and making cutlets of their wives and children which they feed to the imprisoned Socialist-Revolutionaries and Cadets. They pour kerosene on the merchants and use them as human torches to light the streets. Aristocrats and manufacturers are being used as raw material for soldiers' felt boots. The recipe is as follows: take an aristocrat or a manufacturer, undress him, boil him in a special

machine, add the hair cut off from his murdered wife—and you have the necessary stuff.

Another man was sent to a lunatic asylum yesterday—a Right-wing Socialist-Revolutionary. He was urging peasant women at the market to join the Russo-Czech regiment and storm Moscow. My officer borrowed another 2,000 rubles from me, promising to repay as soon as the People's Army recaptured Kazan. I don't think I'll ever see this money again.

Our troops have left Bugulma. There is no doubt that it is only a strategic manœuvre, and that it does not mean anything. It's a very small town. The papers say that Britain, France, Japan and America are with us. Wilson himself is expected to come to Ufa. Bugulma is nothing compared to that. The French consul has already left Ufa. He's probably going to meet Wilson. Long live the Constituent Assembly!

Yesterday I read in a paper that it was necessary to evacuate Ufa for the sake of liberating Russia from the Bolsheviks and revitalizing her. I saw a real Frenchman with frozen ears in Central Street today. He was at a café, selling autographed photos of himself at two rubles each.

... The last trainload of our troops has disappeared from Ufa. So has my lodger, taking with him my watch, my daughter and the 6,000 rubles he found in my desk.

Admiral Kolchak has ordered the arrest of the members of the Constituent Assembly. That being so, I am convinced the Assembly is nothing but a plaything. It was because of it that I lost my daughter, 20,000 rubles, a cigarette case and a watch—and instead of all that I have some promissory notes. Yes, I've been cheated all right. Long live Admiral Kolchak!

A Kolchak punitive detachment has requisitioned two of my horses, over 700 pounds of sugar and one hundred crates of matches, and mobilized my shop assistants. The Bolsheviks have occupied Chimsha. The only Frenchmen left in Ufa are the two lads who perform at the circus. Our bishop has been seen at the railway station-master's office, inquiring about trains for Chelyabinsk. I think I should go to the station too....

HALF A POUND OF BREAD

The general meeting of the First International Cavalry Squadron has unanimously resolved to express gratitude to the workers of Red Petrograd for their gifts and to send them half a pound of bread out of the ration of each Red Army man in the squadron, and to do this as long as we receive two pounds each.

December 2, 1919

ON ALL FRONTS

Here is the list of some of the international units and detachments operating with the Red Army in 1919:

in the Urals—the International Regiment of the 24th Rifle Iron Division;

in Poltava—the Second International Regiment;

in Shadrinsk—an international regiment;

on the Eastern Front—the International Regiment commanded by Ernest;

on the Eastern Front—the Chinese detachment commanded by Shuo Teng-tung;

on the Eastern Front—an international unit of 500 volunteers;

on the Southern Front—an international regiment;

in Usman—an international regiment;

in Perm—the First Urals International Regiment and Squadron;

in Kazan—a Chinese detachment and an international unit, two international companies;

in Simbirsk—an international communist detachment;

in Samara—the First Samara Iron Regiment;

in Buzuluk—the international regiment (about 1,200 men) of an iron division;

in Yaroslavl—the First International Company of the First Soviet Regiment;

in Tula—an international detachment (200 men);

in Moscow—an international detachment and two Chinese companies;

in Smolensk—an international legion;

in Vyatka—an international detachment;
in Murom—an international company;
in Vitebsk—an international platoon;
in Kotelnichi and Rzhev—international companies;
in and about Novo-Khopersk—an international battalion and an international company;
in Alexandrov-Gai—an international detachment of 450 men;
in Ryazan—an international detachment;
in Ivanovo-Voznesensk—an international company.

FALLEN HEROES

The list of the fighters and commanders of the First Orenburg Regiment of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, who died on the field of honour on the Turkestan Front between December 1 and 30, 1919, is headed by:

Mikhail Sitnikov of Perm,
Johann Teske of Germany,
Mustabek Bikturov of Turkmenistan,
Miguel Ziebers of Austria,
Makar Yedinchuk of the Ukraine, and
János Tokács of Hungary.

1920

FORWARD FOR THE JUST CAUSE!

(Order of the Third International Rifle Regiment)

Comrade commanders and soldiers of the Third International Rifle Regiment of the Red Army!

It is with great joy and admiration for your heroism that I congratulate you, my dear regimental comrades, on the occasion of your being awarded the Red Banner. You have earned this high military award for the regiment through your selfless bravery on the battlefield and paid for it with hardships and blood. You have glorified the

name of the Third International Regiment by your victories and devotion to the Revolution.

Hungry and ragged, ever courageous, you have firmly held the weapons of the workers' and peasants' power in your hands. I am sure that under the Red Banner, which our glorious regiment has now received, you will continue to advance along the glorious path of the revolutionary struggle for the power of the working people.

The Third International Regiment has proved, and with the Red Banner in hand will continue to prove, to the enemies of the Revolution that this power is in the iron hands of the workers and peasants.

Forward, comrades, for the just cause! Let us cover our Red Banner and the name of the Third International Rifle Regiment with further glory.

Long live the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army!

Long live the Third International Regiment!

Regimental Commander: *GAVRO*
War Commissar: *YERYOMENKO*

Kiev,
January 7, 1920

"LENIN'S SONS"

(A Yugoslav Red Army man's letter in Croation)

Official reports from Yugoslavia reveal that our bourgeoisie is in terror of the Yugoslav workers and peasants in Russia. The bourgeoisie declare that they are not interested in the Yugoslavs in Soviet Russia, that they do not want to have anything in common with "Lenin's sons."

Well, we workers and peasants of Yugoslavia are proud of being called sons of the great proletarian leader, who is leading the workers to emancipation from the capitalist yoke and before whom the world bourgeoisie trembles. That is why when oppressors and blood-suckers call us "Lenin's sons," we proudly exclaim: "Long live our father, the father of all the poor and oppressed, the great leader of world revolution Comrade Lenin!"

ONE OF THE SONS

"MEN—1,310, RIFLES—1,165"

(Report on the fighting strength of the First International Turkestan Rifle Regiment)

Men—1,310; rifles—1,165; revolvers—10; sabres—76; machine-guns—16; cartridge belts—136; telephones—3.

(Signed) Assistant Quartermaster
June 7, 1920

* * *

Telegram of the Commander of the Turkestan Front

There are no objections to the dispatch of internationalists to the front lines in separate battalions. I should only like to ask you to bear in mind that part of the men will have to be sent unarmed, and that the units will have absolutely no transport facilities, for the Turkestan forces have almost none. Formation of the international units will be supervised by the Headquarters of the Brigade of the First Turkestan Rifle Division which has been renamed International Brigade.

FRUNZE,
Commander of the Turkestan Front

Tashkent,
June 9, 1920

FOR HEROISM

(From the order of the First International Turkestan Rifle Regiment)

Acting on behalf of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants', Red Army Men's and Cossacks' Deputies, the Revolutionary Army Council of the Turkestan Front has decided to award the Order of the Red Banner, the highest revolutionary war decoration, to the International Turkestan Rifle Regiment (the former Fourth Turkestan Rifle Reg-

iment) for valour and heroism displayed by the internationalists on Turkestan territory in the struggle waged by worker and peasant Russia against the White counter-revolutionaries.

Expressing hereby the gratitude of the Russian proletariat, the Revolutionary Army Council of the Turkestan Front is firmly convinced that the internationalists, who have shed their blood in the outlying Asian districts, will prove as staunch fighters for the working people's cause when they are transferred to the western frontier of Soviet Russia.

FRUNZE,

Commander of the Turkestan Front

Tashkent,
June 22, 1920

THE FIGHT AGAINST POLISH INVADER

On June 3, 1920, *Pravda* wrote:

An international battalion, passing through Moscow on its way to the Ukraine to fight the Polish bourgeois invader, was reviewed at the Kazan Railway Station on May 31. Thanks to the railway workers, who are assisting the Red Western Front by expediting trains, it took the battalion only seven days to come from Siberia. Its stopover was taken advantage of to hold a parade.

It is impossible not to say a few words about the splendid appearance of the battalion, composed entirely of Red internationalists—Hungarians, Germans, Galician Ukrainians and Poles. Seventy per cent are workers. Both at the parade and in its struggle against Kolchak bands in the East, the battalion set a splendid example of iron discipline and unshakable proletarian staunchness.

People living in the part of Moscow where the parade was held saw this exemplary discipline with their own eyes.

Fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Russian workers and peasants, with all honest Russians, against the Polish bourgeois aggressor are the workers and other toilers of

all countries and nationalities. Anyone who attended that small parade and spoke with the fighters of the international battalion, saw that clearly.

Greetings to the Red fighters of the international battalion!

Long live the mighty, indestructible alliance of all the working people of the world in the struggle against the Polish and international aggressors!

A REPLY TO LIARS

(An open letter from Austrian worker Berger, of the First Cavalry Army)

The Polish nobles are trying to prove to the world that the Bolshevik armies are made up solely of "mercenary" soldiers, among them thousands of foreign proletarians—former prisoners of war.

"The Bolsheviks forcibly starve them to make them join the Red Army," their papers write.

Miserable liars!

Do you really think that the Russian proletariat resorts to such measures to form the Red Army and that the foreign proletariat would join it on such conditions?

Take me, for instance. I am a foreign worker who was in a prisoner camp in Russia when the Great October Revolution broke out and I would like to inform you that about 4,000 former prisoners of war from my camp volunteered for the Red Army. That was at the time when your patron, the Entente, was persuading the Czechoslovaks in Siberia to come out against the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

It was so everywhere else in Russia.

We have already been fighting in the ranks of the Red Army for proletarian ideals, for communism, for three years running, although no one in Soviet Russia has promised us riches and fame.

We know perfectly well that the struggle is a difficult one, but we are sure that we shall win in the end.

Your League of Nations will not bring peace to mankind.

It is only Soviet power that has brought the working people freedom and peace!

BERGER,
Austrian worker and soldier
of the First Cavalry Army

MÁTÉ ZALKA, POET AND SOLDIER

Shortly before World War I, Máté Zalka, a young Hungarian writer, volunteered for service in a hussar regiment. He did that at the insistence of his parents. His father, an impoverished landowner, and his mother, *née* Lukács, feared that literary environment would lead their heir astray. And since the heir did not want to hurt his parents and, moreover, saw nothing bad in serving in the army, especially in a hussar regiment, he exchanged his pen for a sword.

And quite naturally he proved an easy victim for the chauvinistic sentiments obtaining at the beginning of the war. As a junior lieutenant and then lieutenant, he proved himself a very brave man and soon earned three medals. He was wounded eleven times.

His enthusiasm, however, was not long-lived. Here is what Máté Zalka wrote later:

"The war came, turned my head and confronted me with problems which wrought great changes in me. Already in 1915 I began to regard the war as a civil war. It was then that I, a Hungarian officer, spoiled and accustomed to my priviliged position, wrote my first anti-militarist story. It aroused the hatred and contempt of my friends, relatives and colleagues, but won for me the sympathies of those who opposed war."

He was accused of "indulging in verbal (written) agitation against war and taking an indirect part in a revolutionary organization of Hungarian intellectuals," and the officers' "court of honour" ordered him "to expiate his guilt with blood."

In the summer of 1916 Máté Zalka was badly wounded and taken prisoner by Russian troops.

His years in the war prisoner camp, he later said, were a university. He wrote a lot and his works saw light, but what was far more important was that in his association with soldiers he came to know how working people lived—something he had not known before. And, of course, he read much and for the first time read Marx, Engels and Lenin.

"It was in the war prisoner camp that I made my acquaintance with socialist ideas," he wrote later, "and they firmly captured my imagination and filled me with some new feeling.... I gradually began to fall away from the officers, they became absolutely alien to me, and devoted myself wholly to the truths which, it seemed, I had felt somewhere in my heart even before.... I gave myself completely to serving people."

He was transferred to a penal camp for his revolutionary activity among prisoners of war, and was freed by the October Revolution.

By the beginning of 1918 Máté Zalka was already the commander of the international unit he organized in Siberia. In those days the counter-revolution, backed by the interventionists, enjoyed superiority there and in one of the engagements he was captured by the enemy.

The Whiteguards had a programme all their own: they devoted the morning to beating the prisoners up with ramrods, and at night they would drive groups of half-naked prisoners out to some vacant lot, make them dig graves and then shoot them. Máté Zalka's turn came too. As they were being taken away, chained in pairs, the man convoying them told them softly to make a break for it. Zalka and his companion dashed away, dodging bullets. The latter fell shot, the chain burst and Zalka escaped death by hiding in a hole. Later, his body aching from the blows of the ramrod, his clothes in rags, he was given shelter by people who sympathized with the Soviet regime, and it was they who helped him to escape.

Back among friends after several months, he looked into the mirror and saw that his head was full of grey hair ... at 23.

During the White terror in Siberia, Zalka was with the famed partisan detachment under the command of Shchetinkin. In one fierce encounter he was captured by the Whites and beaten within an inch of his life. He himself never knew how he managed to escape being shot. He was found unconscious in a field by Chinese workers, who brought him home and cured him. He went back to fighting the moment he was up.

Fighting for Soviet power, first as a commander of a Red Army battalion and then of a regiment, Zalka proved a brilliant tactician and strategist. It was he who directed the complicated and dangerous operation of bringing the Soviet state's gold reserves from Siberia to Moscow.

Writer Anna Karavayeva, who knew Zalka well, recalls: "I remember that when he told me the story of the 'golden train' I was astonished at the desperate courage with which this brilliantly conceived plan was executed.

"'Our train went quite normally, according to schedule,' Máté Zalka said.

"He almost never said 'I,' it was always 'we,' as if it was not his clear head and daring that had thought up the plan, as if it was not he who had directed the whole operation connected with this valuable train. It was 'we' and 'they,' those fine lads and excellent fighters, who hid the train in the taiga until the arrival of the Red Army.

"He was very happy at the way things with this 'golden train' went at the beginning, and you may well imagine how happy he was when he was received by Lenin.

"'He told me: "How are you, Comrade Zalka?" and embraced me,' Máté related.

"And being a modest man he did not even add that, on Lenin's orders, he was awarded a golden sabre."

Máté Zalka and his internationalists fought in Siberia and the Urals, at Kiev and Zaporozhye, and took part in smashing Wrangel's army.

"Zalka was a brave man, a hero," one of his comrades-in-arms, B. Lavrovsky, recalls. "He combined true courage with the ability to analyze the military situation, with the ability to spare people's lives—he never risked them uselessly."

He knew how to fight, but he loved peace, and as soon as the intervention and Civil War were over, he said farewell to the army. Longing for his pen, he began to write a lot and brilliantly. In the twenties he published several books, among them *Comrade Liu*, *For the Tsar* and *First, Second, Third.* They were reprinted in Paris, New York, Chicago, Buenos Aires, Prague—"everywhere but Hungary," he used to say bitterly. The Horthy reactionary regime in Hungary had sentenced him to death *in absentia* and banned his books.

He yearned to get home and his heart rent every time he thought of his country. He was proud of the culture of his people, believed in their inexhaustible strength and dreamed of the day Hungary would at long last become free.

Máté Zalka's artistry matured with each passing year. His short stories and novels were very popular with both readers and critics. *The Story of Eternal Peace*, written at the end of the twenties, was the first of a series of anti-militarist books. In the autumn of 1936, he finished the novel *Doberdó.*

"One day in October," his wife Vera relates, "he came home, embraced me and said:

"'Well, my dear, I'm going to Spain.'

"My heart missed a beat.

"'When?' I asked.

"'On the fifteenth.'

"We sat silently for a long time."

In Spain, where he went to fight the fascists, he took his mother's name—Lukács—and commanded the Twelfth International Brigade, which was composed of Germans, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, Britons, Bulgarians and people of many other nations. The brigade grew into a mighty force. It repulsed the enemy onslaught on Madrid, was victorious in Jarama fighting and routed the fascists in the Guadalajara sector.

On December 9, 1936, Zalka wrote to his wife:

"In a word, we are re-living the year 1918, with its difficulties, fascination and sorrows."

Seven months later, on June 11, 1937, Máté Zalka was mortally wounded.

He was buried in Valencia. Writing from Spain, Soviet author Mikhail Koltsov said thousands of people attended the funeral, and one orator emphasized that "the valiant anti-fascist General Lukács will ever be regarded as a hero by the Spanish people."

And so he is regarded by the Soviet people and by the people of his own Hungary.

"... REPEATEDLY PROVED HIS DEVOTION TO THE CAUSE OF THE REVOLUTION"

(From Order No. 75 of the Revolutionary Army Council to the First Cavalry Army)

Comrade Dundić, commander of the Model Cavalry Squadron attached to the Headquarters of the First Cavalry Army, is hereby awarded the Order of the Red Banner for fighting in the ranks of the Red Army from its very first day and for setting an inspiring example to the Red Army men by his high-principled fight in the interests of the Revolution. By his dashing attacks at Voronezh, in the course of which he inflicted losses on the enemy and disorganized him, he repeatedly proved his devotion to the cause of the Revolution and worker-peasant government.

BUDYONNY, Commander of the Army
VOROSHILOV, *SHCHADENKO*, Members
of the Revolutionary Army Council

Army Headquarters
March 8, 1920

THE IMMORTAL FAME OF OLEKO DUNDIĆ

Thousands of people today remember Oleko Dundić—the courageous, bold, ingenious, kind Dundić.

An officer of the Serbian corps garrisoned in the South of Russia, which the Kerensky Government intended to

use against the Revolution, Dundić joined the International Red Guard in the very first months of the Revolution.

Soon the people of Odessa saw him fighting on the barricades. After that he battled the interventionists at Zhmerinka. From there, at the head of his international detachment, Dundić went to Tsaritsyn, where the Fifth Army was retreating together with refugees from the Ukraine.

Sixty trainfuls were fighting their way through enemy encirclement to the Volga. The last of them, the sixtieth, carrying workers' families fell behind: there was no water for the locomotive and the pump-house was out of order. Men chained up for half a mile to a rippling spring in the steppe and relayed buckets, mess-tins and pots of water to the train.

The tank was still half empty when a desperate shout rent the air:

"Dragoons! Dragoons!"

Army Commander Kliment Voroshilov's very young chief-of-staff, Nikolai Rudnev, who had arrived on the eve with orders to speed up the train, heard the alarm and took his field glasses: yes, they were dragoons all right, German.

What were they to do? How could they hope to repulse the enemy when there were fewer than twenty armed men in the train?

The distance between the dragoons and the train grew less with each moment. One could already hear the thundering hooves and see in the clouds of dust the sparkling swords of the galloping German cavalrymen.

The horsemen were closing in. Suddenly, a cavalry squadron emerged from a ravine and dashed against the Germans.

"It's our men!" the encouraging news was rushed from carriage to carriage.

The two squadrons clashed.

"Look! Look!" one lad shouted from the roof of the carriage. "See that man in a leather jacket? He certainly knows how to use his sword. He wields it with his left

hand and shoots with his right, and keeps himself in saddle with his legs. What a man!"

The clash soon ended. Taken by surprise, the Germans turned and fled.

The cavalrymen picked up their wounded and approached the train.

"Who are you?" Rudnev asked as he went out to meet the men.

"Drugi," the left-hander replied, brushing back his dust-covered jet-black hair.

"In our language, that is, in Serbian," another man explained, "'drugi' means 'comrades.' We're Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins...."

"Why, a whole International!" exclaimed Rudnev.

"That's what we are—fighters of the International Red Guard."

A great cheer went up, and when it died down Rudnev asked:

"Who's your commander?"

"I am," the left-hander replied, clicking his heels. "Forgive me for forgetting to introduce myself. I am Lieutenant Dundić, Oleko by name...."

The meeting with the internationalists, who had come to their rescue, raised the spirits of the somewhat discouraged refugees.

Dundić and his men joined Voroshilov's army and took part in the defence of Tsaritsyn where Dundić met Semyon Budyonny, Commander of the First Cavalry Army. Carrying out his assignments, Dundić performed one heroic feat after another: at the head of a group of horsemen, for instance, he would descend like a whirlwind on the enemy's rear, create a panic and return with prisoners; or, disguised as a German colonel, he would appear at a military telegraph office, get the necessary secret information and return safe and sound to the Cavalry Corps Headquarters.

In the Belaya Glina area Dundić took part in the capture of an officer-manned armoured train, while in a skirmish at Lyapishchev he captured a battery.

When Budyonny's First Cavalry Army reached the ap-

proaches of Voronezh, Dundić was given several brave men and told to enter the town and bring back information on the city's defences.

Dundić set out to the city masqueraded as a Cossack officer. His calm tone and bearing convinced the enemy sentries that he was really a Cossack officer and that the men accompanying him were his orderlies.

Once inside, the reconnaissance party found out where the trenches and barbed-wire entanglements were, and informed the Cavalry Corps Headquarters.

Dundić was merciless with enemies, and tactful and kind with his comrades-in-arms, and was always ready to share his last piece of bread with them.

One day he learned that some badly wounded fighters were not receiving any medical aid because there were no doctors or nurses. Dundić disguised himself as a wounded White officer, entered the enemy camp as twilight descended, found the nurse who, he knew, sympathized with the Bolsheviks, and brought her back on his horse. The wounded men were saved.

Dundić sustained 26 wounds during the war—one for each year of his life, and the 26th, received in the Rovno offensive, proved mortal.

Dundic was dead, but for a long time many people refused to believe that. Stories made the rounds of squadrons and regiments that he had been given a secret assignment and that he was performing feats of unparalleled heroism in the enemy rear. There were, in fact, people who claimed that they had "seen" Dundić disguised as a Polish officer somewhere near Lvov. Others said that he had returned home, to his beautiful and long-suffering Serbia, and was organizing a life-and-death struggle against tyrants and executioners.

There was so much life, energy and spirit in him that his friends just could not imagine him dead.

His glory has not dimmed with time.

There is a little town in the Ukraine. It is full of gardens and flowers. The streets converge on a shady park.

And in the centre of it is Dundić's grave. The obelisk has these words of Kliment Voroshilov inscribed on it:

"The Red Dundić! Who can ever forget him! Who can compare with this legendary hero in daring, courage, kindness and sincerity! He was a lion with the heart of a lovely child...."

MY DUTY IS TO FIGHT FOR THE WORKERS

(From the reminiscences of Cha Yang-chih)

I had a very good horse, Lyosha. I got it in the battle for Novorossiisk. The Whites were retreating and we were attacking them. I was fighting with an officer on a big grey horse—he was very fat, probably a rich man. The horse was beautiful and I got it. The officer remained lying in the field and I rode away on his steed.

Lyosha was the best horse I have ever had. It had the brains of a human being. And it understood every command. The brigade commander often told me: "Look, Nikolai (that's the way Russians called me in the army and that's the way they still call me), let's change." He also had a good horse, but I wouldn't change. How can one who has such a horse? One must take care of it as one takes care of one's life.

But Lyosha's gone. It got a bullet in its belly.

That happened near Vilno when we were fighting the interventionists. From Novorossiisk we were turned west, and the whole Cavalry Army went against Pilsudski. Our corps was commanded by Gai, the regiment by Kuzev, and my company by Malevanny. There were eight other Chinese besides me in the company. I remember every one of them: Wang Teng-shih from Peking, Hsia Tung-fu from North-East China, Ki Ling-kuo from Shantung, Wang Hsi-fa from the same province, Liu Chang-yu from Tientsin, Wang Ting-shang from Hupeh, Liang-fu from North-East China, and Chang Wing from Shantung.

Real fellow-countrymen—all of them from the north. We understood one another very well.

At that time we could understand Russian comrades well too, so we didn't have to keep to ourselves. Our company was like one family, and a very friendly one.

The Polish bourgeoisie are as evil as the Russian. They're the same everywhere. Every encounter was a fight to the last. But we won. That's because an army can't be composed only of bourgeois. After all, there are not so many of them. Besides the bourgeois, there were workers and peasants in the Polish army. And why did they fight with us? They fought only because there was strict discipline. Some of them fought because the bourgeoisie had succeeded in drumming into their heads that the Bolsheviks were bent on conquering Poland. But that was not true. And the Polish soldiers felt it was not true.

One day I was convoying a Polish prisoner to the headquarters. On the way he asked me in Russian:

"Say, Chinaman, why are you fighting for Russia?"

"My duty is to fight for workers," I answered. "The tsar has been chucked out in Russia, and the bourgeoisie too, the people are the masters. Is that bad?"

The Polish soldier thought for a moment and then said: "No, that's good."

"And if the same thing happened in your country, would that be bad for you?"

Again he thought for a moment before replying.

"No, that will be good," he said.

"And without the bourgeoisie it will be good in China too," I went on. "But now I'm in Russia, not China. And I'm helping Russian workers. Later on, perhaps, they'll help us. You're fighting with the Russians and doing yourself harm.... You're not class-conscious."

"You're right, Chinaman," he said. "You're talking sense."

During the fighting, our corps broke through, crossed the whole of Poland and reached the German border. Behind us were strong White forces. We couldn't rejoin the army, and had to cross the German frontier.

That was on August 24, 1920. We spent six months in Germany. There were several thousand Red Army men in our camp, including 500 Chinese.

We Chinese were kept separately. They wanted us to break with the Russians so that we wouldn't return to Russia. Propagandists came to agitate us. "What d'you want Russia for?" they'd ask us. "Stay with us. We'll give you work and German passports. You'll be much better off here than with the Bolsheviks."

To show us that we could live in any beautiful city we wanted, they even took us to Berlin.

But not one of the 500 Chinese Red Army men agreed to remain in Germany. By that time we had become accustomed to see things with different eyes. Why should we live in a country where the worker was the lowest creature, where we Chinese would be even lower, when there was Russia? In Russia there was Soviet power, the workers were their own masters, there was equality for all.

And so we returned to Russia.

HEROES ABOUT HEROES

By their valour and devotion to the cause of the October Socialist Revolution, the fighters of the international detachments won the affection of their comrades-in-arms, the Soviet fighters, and the deep respect and gratitude of the entire Soviet people. The illustrious heroes of the Civil War and commanders of the Red Army spoke very highly of the internationalists.

Here is what Sergei Lazo, a hero of the Civil War, said:

"The internationalists are fighting very well. Most of them are Hungarians, the rest are Austrians and Germans. You know that I am in favour of their fighting on our side, for that adds to the international character of our struggle. They are all veteran soldiers and possess war experience. They fight with inspiration and temperament. They are loyal to the Revolution. There are restraint, discipline and good order in all the Hungarian sections commanded by Bolsheviks—and that means in most of them...."

And here is an excerpt from the speech made by Semyon Budyonny after the victory over the White Cossacks in the Gniloaksaiskaya area on November 27, 1918:

"... D'you see these people, the Serbs? They're real revolutionaries. We Russians are fighting in our own country, defeating our own bourgeoisie and officers, and these men are with us. They have no relatives, no homes, no villages of their own in Russia, yet they fight no worse than we do. They're real international fighters."

1921

TOIVO ANTIKAINEN

While restoring their national economy, which had been destroyed by the intervention and the Civil War, the Soviet people were compelled in the first few years of peace to carry on an armed struggle against counter-revolutionary gangs coming across the border from the north and south, east and west. A vivid stage of this struggle is linked with the name of Toivo Antikainen.

...Soviet Karelia is a land of mighty forests that have been awakened by the whistle of trains and the buzz of electric saws, a land of lakes, some sky-blue and some as dark as the venerable pines, banks dotted with new towns and settlements, a land of swamps that are retreating before the onslaught of man....

Petrozavodsk, the capital of Soviet Karelia, is among the northernmost of the major Soviet cities. Everything here is simple, even a little stern—the light colour of the buildings, which in winter seem to reflect the dazzling snow, the straight streets, and the spacious, wind-swept squares. The very names breathe with the city's history—Komsomolskaya Street, October 25 Street, Lenin Square, Antikainen Square....

Antikainen Square.... Who was this man, whose name is a household word in the Soviet Union? What did this Finn,

whose memory is honoured on both sides of the Finnish-Soviet border, do for the Soviet people?

It was in the winter of 1921-22. It was the third year that the workers and peasants of Soviet Karelia were fighting the interventionists and counter-revolutionaries. Nearly the entire country had returned to peaceful labour, but here battles were still raging almost without stop. Famine was rife and the people abandoned their homes. The gangs that had invaded Karelia were burning and destroying all they could.

In December 1921, the Revolutionary Military Council of the republic set the task of closing the Finnish border at all costs, cutting the enemy off from the border and clearing Soviet Karelia of the bandits. A detachment of skiers was sent deep into the enemy's rear. Its assignment was to destroy the gangs' headquarters and food bases by sudden attack.

There were frosts of 31 degrees Fahr. The snow was waist-deep everywhere. The detachment of skiers had to cover almost a thousand kilometres in the enemy's rear not by road but by the shortest possible route. The movements of the detachment had to be kept a top secret. The men carried all the supplies and arms. This unparalleled march was headed by the Finnish revolutionary Toivo Antikainen.

He was 23 years old. Thin, fair-haired, rather like a boy, he had a high forehead and blue eyes sparkling with energy and intelligence. "A typical Finn," people said of him. He was born into the family of a Helsinki worker and began to work at the age of nine. He fought for Soviet rule in his native Finland, but the Finnish revolution was crushed. Together with scattered Red-Guard units, which fought their way out of encirclement near Viborg, Antikainen crossed the border into Soviet territory.

A soldier of the Revolution, he defended the gains of the October Revolution in Soviet Russia without sparing himself. In 1919, he commanded a machine-gun company of the 6th Finnish Regiment, which fought against the interventionists in Karelia, near Leningrad and near Murmansk.

And now, on January 5, 1922, a detachment of 150 Finnish skiers commanded by Toivo Antikainen began their march.

"We marched out in formation. It was morning and very cold. Our route led across untrodden land, through the pine forests of Karelia.

"We moved swiftly, catching our breath as we went. Our loads made themselves felt.

"We knew that our lives and the lives of thousands of people, and, perhaps, the outcome of the entire winter campaign, were now in our hands, to be more exact—in our feet.

"We carried everything on our backs—ammunition and supplies.

"We sped onwards, oblivious to all else, rapidly pushing off with our sticks and taking long strides. Whether from the melting snow or from steaming sweat, we could not tell, the foot-cloths felt hot and even wet. The steam of our breaths came in spurts from our mouths. We were completely in the grip of the intoxicating rhythm of the mad pace, of the flashing of sticks and pines, of the hissing of the snow beneath our skis.

"Nobody spoke, nobody was allowed to stop for a smoke

"We moved along in concentrated silence. Even Antikainen and Heikonen, who loved a joke, were silent. Their tense faces and the way Antikainen kept pushing off in jerks and not smoothly as he always did showed how grave the situation was and how difficult our enterprise was going to be."

The greatest difficulty was to cross the Maselga Pass. It was considered impassable in winter, but Antikainen led the detachment across it.

"It was an upslope all the way. The stony ribs of huge rocks stuck out of the snow. The slope was getting steeper and steeper and the going became harder every minute.

"With our skis on our shoulders, we clutched at projecting stones and rocks, scratching hands, breaking nails. But a burning desire to carry out the assignment given us

by the Revolution, a desire which defied the strongest of frosts, spurred us on.

"We scrambled up to the top, slipping, tearing our overalls, and breathing heavily.

"I stopped for a moment to catch my breath and heard a wolf howling in the distance, heard the laboured breathing—the wheezing of a hundred of young lads—breaking the innocent stillness of the winter night; there was not a sound except the painful gasps, an oath now and then—it was hard to restrain oneself—and that distant howling, and nothing all round but the snow, where behind each casual stone a lead bullet or an axe was perhaps waiting.

"Our fingers were becoming numb, the slope was growing ever steeper."

This is a description of the march by the hero of Gennady Fish's *The Fall of Kimas-Ozero*.

The headquarters of the enemy was in Kimas-Ozero. At daybreak on January 20, the skiers broke into this village from all directions. The attack was so sudden that the firing lasted only 20 minutes and Antikainen's detachment did not suffer a single casualty in either killed or wounded.

The fall of Kimas-Ozero decided the outcome of the operation. It forced the enemy to evacuate other sectors of the front. Soon the whole of Karelia was cleared of counter-revolutionary gangs.

"Heroic, legendary, fearless, indefatigable"—none of these epithets, which were applied to Toivo Antikainen, were an exaggeration. Legends were indeed composed about him. A film was made and a book written about this march.

But Toivo Antikainen never liked to be called a hero. We have before us an issue of *Zvezda*, a Leningrad literary journal, for 1932, in which Gennady Fish's *The Fall of Kimas-Ozero* was first published. The pages are full of notes and corrections made by Antikainen.

"...Standing on the mound of a freshly dug grave, in which the earth was already freezing, the indefatigable organizer of the Helsinki Komsomol, the building worker

and our devoted leader, Comrade Antikainen, made his finest speech," it says in the book. All the attributes except "Comrade Antikainen" were crossed out by Toivo.

"Comrade" was the noblest and most honourable word that he knew.

That was how he was called from the age of eight, ever since he joined a children's socialist organization, then the Youth League and, later, the Social-Democratic Party.

The very mention of his name made the interventionists in Karelia look round nervously, while Finnish and Russian Communists called him by the international name of Comrade. And it was the same throughout the years of the Finnish underground and gaols until the end of his life, which was cut short tragically in 1941.

A great-hearted and extraordinarily courageous man, he fought devotedly for the realization of his ideals, which he saw in the socialist path taken by the Soviet state.

Chapter Three

"HANDS OFF SOVIET RUSSIA!"

Pressed in a ring of battle fronts which sometimes penetrated to the very heart of the country; fenced off from the world by a blank wall of the enemy blockade and censorship; violently abused by press, parliament, and pulpit; badly wounded, ravaged, and hungry; nevertheless, the embattled Soviet Republic had millions of friends in all parts of the world.

Many of them were just honest people who had been stirred by the injustice being perpetrated by the rulers of the Great Powers on the new Soviet state. Some were humanitarians who had been shocked by the infinite and seemingly irremediable sufferings of the Soviet people.

But the overwhelming majority of the warm and true friends of the young government of the working people were proletarians to whom the new state was near and dear, the embodiment of their dreams. They not only gave moral support to their Soviet working-class brothers, who, as Marx said of the Paris Commune, were "storming heaven," but also gave all the practical help they could to the point of putting aside their own personal, living interests.

In the grim war which the imperialists with the aid of the Whiteguards had unleashed against the Soviet Government, the broad masses of the people of the world, and, above all, the working class, took the side of the Soviets. The working class of the West answered the intervention by the mass movement for *Hands off Soviet Russia.* This mighty movement, the like of which had never been known before, arose, to a large extent spontaneously, in 1918,

as an expression of the natural feelings and strivings of millions of working people. It flared up at first among individual sections of workers and in only a few places; then, as the enemy onslaught against the Soviet Republic strengthened, the movement embraced whole countries and became such an important factor in the social life of these countries that even the most bellicose of the imperialist bosses had to take it into account.

Despite the savage calumnies in the press, government persecution, and the treachery of many Western labour leaders, the working class and the progressive intellectuals came out decisively and firmly in defence of the Soviets, against the intervention and blockade.

"Hands off Soviet Russia!" resounded in Britain and France, the United States and Italy, and in many other countries during the sombre year 1919, the period of the so-called crusade by the 14 Powers, a most difficult time for the Soviet people.

THIS WAS IN BRITAIN

(From the events of 1919)

No sooner had the imperialist intervention started than mass meetings took place all over Britain under the slogan of "Hands off Soviet Russia." At one of these meetings, in Albert Hall, London, the speakers called on the government to end the blockade of Russia, end the intervention, and grant the Russian people that right which the Entente has proclaimed for all—the right of self-determination.

Protesting against the slandering of the Soviet Government, another of the speakers declared: "Bolshevism is being damned, but it has done a lot of good. These Bolsheviks have reduced the working day. They have given land to the peasants, bread to the workers, and peace to the soldiers."

A mass meeting was held in London on January 18, 1919. It was attended by representatives of the Woolwich

Arsenal Shop Stewards, the London Federation of Shop Stewards, and the Barrow Shop Stewards' Committee, as well as by delegates from the London and Clyde Workers' Committees and the Workers' Socialist Federation. There were also represented: the Plymouth East End and West End branches of the British Socialist Party, the Socialist Labour Party, the local organizations of the Labour Party from Woolwich, Twickenham, Hammersmith, etc. The meeting adopted a resolution demanding an immediate end to the intervention with the threat of a general strike.

"The British working class will not allow itself to be used to destroy the Socialist Republic," wrote *The Call.*

Workers on the Clyde and in Belfast, Edinburgh, and Nottingham, and in a number of other towns came out on strike as a protest against the intervention in Russia. Nearly 100,000 dockers, miners, engineers, electricians, and shipbuilding workers in and around Glasgow took part in a protest strike on January 28, 1919.

"Hands off Soviet Russia" demonstrations took place in London in February, April, and May 1919. The great May Day demonstrations held all over the country were for the defence of the Soviet people.

On March 26, the Conference of the Miners' Federation in London decided to demand the withdrawal of troops from Russia and the ending of the blockade. The conference instructed the Executive Committee to seek agreement with the transport and railway workers on joint "direct action" in the event of the government not changing its policy—in other words, to get agreement on a general strike.

The miners' decision met with a wide response. All the large trade unions—textile workers, railwaymen, engineers, and others supported the call for the withdrawal of troops from Russia and the ending of the blockade.

Under pressure of the mass movement, a joint conference of the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, meeting in April, called on the government to take measures for the immediate withdrawal of troops from Russia and to persuade the Allies to do the same.

On May 23, the shipbuilding and engineering unions at their conference in Leeds declared that they would strike if troops were not recalled from Russia.

It was reported from London on May 23, 1919, that a delegation from British trade union organizations had a long discussion on political questions with Bonar Law, Minister of Labour. He was presented with a resolution from the miners, transport workers, railwaymen and many other trade unions demanding non-interference in Russia, and the ending of the blockade and support of the Russian counter-revolutionaries. The resolution was in the form of an ultimatum. The trade unions threatened to call a general strike if the demand was not met. Bonar Law's answer did not satisfy either the delegates or the unions they represented. The Minister of Labour had gone to Paris for a consultation with Lloyd George.

On May 29, the railwaymen requested a meeting of the Triple Alliance (transport workers: 450,000, miners: 850,000, railwaymen: 450,000) to discuss the question of taking joint action to end the intervention.

In June, the leaders of the Miners' Federation declared that if the government did not change its policy towards Soviet Russia, the Triple Alliance would use all its industrial strength.

On June 27, the annual conference of the Labour Party meeting in Southport passed a resolution by 1,843,000 votes against 935,000 for an immediate strike of solidarity with the Soviet people. The delegates shouted down the chairman of the conference, McGurk, when he tried to defend the diplomacy of Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson. The resolution demanded the use of the political and industrial strength of the trade unions to end the intervention.

Soon afterwards, the Executive Committee of the Labour Party announced that strike action was a matter for each union....

A report from London on June 16, 1919, read:

"At the beginning of this week, many mass meetings and demonstrations were held throughout Britain against the intervention, the Versailles peace, and general mili-

tary conscription. The Labour Party leaders have put a number of questions in Parliament regarding a secret circular of Churchill's in which he inquires about the willingness of soldiers and officers to fight against Soviet Russia."

"The Lancashire strike continues to spread," said a report from London dated June 25, 1919. "The number of strikers has risen to half a million. The government's attempts to mediate have been unsuccessful. The movement has begun to take on the form of a political strike. The strikers are demanding that no more troops be sent to Russia and that all British troops on Russian territory be withdrawn."

Another report from the same source (June 28, 1919) stated: "Since the negotiations in Lancashire have come to nothing, the strike now embraces the whole of the British textile industry. British industry is threatened with new complications arising out of the Labour Party Conference to be held in Southport. The workers are protesting against universal military conscription and the use of British troops in the attack on Soviet Russia. The resistance of the British workers on these two points is very strong. Informed circles believe, however, that the workers' demands will not be granted. Reuter reported on June 23 that the textile workers did not accept the owners' proposals and that the strike continues."

Huge demonstrations of protest against the intervention spread over Britain on June 21-22, 1919.

During these days, strikes of solidarity with the Russian workers were carried out by miners in South Wales, boot and shoe operatives in Norwich, and by miners in Mansfield and Swansea.

Twenty-five thousand dockers went on strike, refusing to load supplies and arms for the Whiteguards.

More than two and a half million workers struck work in Britain during 1919. No matter what was the original cause of the strike, it invariably became political in content and a mighty solidarity movement with the Soviet people.

The mass character of the British working-class movement in defence of the Soviet Republic led to the formation of the National "Hands off Russia" Committee. Local committees were formed simultaneously in many towns. The London "Hands off Russia" Committee united more than 200,000 people.

The Committee had the following demands:

(a) The immediate withdrawal of all British troops from Russia.

(b) The stoppage of supplies to Kolchak, Denikin and other tsarist generals.

(c) The raising of the blockade of Russia.

(d) The establishment of normal diplomatic relations between Soviet Russia and Great Britain.

The leaders of the National Committee stated that in their opinion resolutions from millions of people in the localities had shown the government that public opinion in the country was against the intervention and that the people would tolerate it no longer.

W. Coates, Secretary to the Committee, said that the mountain of resolutions was growing and that if they kept up the pressure still further, the government would have to end the suicidal undertaking which they had begun without consulting the electors.

At the Trades Union Congress in September 1919, a resolution containing the main demand of the "Hands off Russia" committees was passed unanimously amid scenes of great enthusiasm.

The anti-Soviet policy of the British ruling class met with the decisive and ever-increasing opposition of the working class and other progressive forces in Britain.

DOCKERS BEWARE!

By Harry Pollitt

An article by Harry Pollitt was published under this headline in *The Workers' Dreadnought* on May 10, 1919. Harry Pollitt was then working at his trade as a boiler-

maker in the London Docks. He was a leader of the "Hands off Russia" movement, and, in 1921, was one of the founders of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The article was written with the aim of rousing the dockers to struggle against the serious danger arising from the anti-Soviet measures of the British Government which they were carefully concealing from the British people.

Pollitt's passionate appeal was addressed above all to those who had still not recognized their working-class duty, and to those who were still under the influence of the lies and slanders of the British press. His appeal expresses both the high level of activity among the supporters of the "Hands off Russia" movement and the difficulties which they had to overcome.

"No apology is needed for introducing this subject to trade unionists, as it is so important and serious to every lover of national freedom and liberty that one can only stand amazed that the British labour movement has stood idly by so long, while the government has proceeded with its policy of military intervention in Russia.

"The British Government is assisting the intolerable reactionary capitalists and landlords of Russia to revive the old regime of tsardom, which represented the world over all that was the most bloody and tyrannical, 'so that there stretched from Moscow to the remote icy regions of Siberia one long damning trail of red—the blood trail of the exiles upon the snow', the trail of the pioneers of Russian trade unionism "and socialism.

And today, after the workers of Russia have overthrown their age-long tyrants, the Government of Britain is sending soldiers, munitions and aeroplanes to defeat the Bolsheviks, who have succeeded in establishing the first Socialist Republic in the world.

"That Republic stands in danger of being overthrown because British trade unionists (who are compelled to be in a trade union to fight the English capitalists) are manning the engines and ships that are carrying soldiers and munitions to Russia.

„Here in the London Docks, British trade unionists are working every possible hour on barges that are being fitted out to carry bombs, ammunition boxes, and aeroplane parts that are going to Russia to defeat and kill Russian trade unionists. Aye! and by some ironic circumstance, as if possessed by the bloody imp of capitalist greed, these same staunch trade unionists are working at a speed (and under atmospheric conditions) that they never endured when it was thought so urgent to have ships to beat the Germans. How the gods of war and greed must now be smiling in fiendish delight!

"In all this effort, all this loss of comradeship, all this prostitution of idealism and manhood, to assist the capitalists of this country to defeat the proletariat! Bolshevik atrocities! Why, even if they were true (and all independent eyewitnesses from Russia declare that they have never witnessed any of them) they would pale into insignificance besides the ghastly executions and pogroms under the late Tsar, which in one year caused to be executed 26,000 of his subjects, the majority of whom belonged to your own class.

"Your Government never intervened then!

"Therefore I would appeal to all of you, who still have a heart that beats in sympathy with our comrades abroad, to get busy in your branches and get the members to refuse to touch any ship that is to carry munitions to Russia. Only by such action can the British labour movement wipe out the stain that now tarnishes its ideals. If this action means personal sacrifice, what of it? On the continent men and women are dying every hour to defend working-class Russia, shall we fail them in their hour of need, or rather, shall we not exhibit a little of that international solidarity that we love to cheer about, but have now such a magnificent opportunity to demonstrate?

"In conclusion, let me quote you the closing passage from Arthur Ransome's *Truth about Russia*:

"'These men who have made the Soviet Government in Russia, if they must fail, will fail with clean shields and clean hearts, having striven for an ideal which will live beyond them. Even if they fail, they will nonetheless

have written a page of history more daring than any other which I can remember in the story of the human race. They are writing amid showers of mud from the meaner spirits in their own country, in yours, and in my own. But when the thing is over, and their enemies have triumphed, the mud will vanish like black magic at noon, and that page will be as white as the snows of Russia, and the writing on it as bright as the gold domes that I used to see glittering in the sun when I looked from my windows in Petrograd.'"

BERNARD SHAW'S DISCLOSURE

At a time when the interventionist troops were shedding the blood of the Russian people and reducing our land to ashes, almost the whole of the British press, with well-paid fury, was viciously slandering the Soviet Government and attributing every possible crime to it. The prodigious accusations hurled against the Workers' Republic by the most widely circulated newspapers in Britain, and, indeed, in the world, had no real foundation other than the capitalists' desire to discredit the Soviets, to sow distrust and enmity against them, and to provide the moral justification for the intervention in the eyes of their own people.

As is commonly known, nothing at all came out of this: once more truth proved to be stronger than lies. The voice of honest people, the voice of millions of workers drowned the howling and raging of the loud-mouthed capitalist press.

During those days in Britain, Bernard Shaw, one of the greatest writers of our century, and a true friend of the Soviet state since its inception, repeatedly used his pen against the contemptible slanderers of the Soviets.

The enemies of the Soviet people accused them of all sorts of crimes, putting a good deal of imagination and black paint into descriptions of "Russian horrors" in the press. In 1922 Bernard Shaw published a pamphlet dealing with those "horrors."

In a completely earnest tone that made his sarcasm even more scathing, Shaw analyzed as thoroughly as a scholar the major "Russian horrors" that had given rise to all the others.

One "horrible" instance of "Russian cruelty," he said, was that the Russian soldier had done an amazing thing—after fighting for a long time and going through countless hardships he had gone home and taken the land. Shaw said that was a cruel thing to do to the robber class, but as far as he was concerned it was not a bad sort of cruelty.

As he lashed at liars and hypocrites, at the scraggy knights of the money bag, Shaw laid bare the roots of their furious attacks upon Soviet economic methods, under which the industries were being organized in the interest of the people and not of parasites.

A considerable part of the Shaw pamphlet was concerned with those "Russian horrors" which the capitalist Western press described least of all, even though they accounted in the main for its anti-Soviet fervour. We mean the "horrors of Bolshevik propaganda," which was far worse, as Shaw ironically put it, than having your fingers or ears chopped off, for the Bolsheviks gave you lots of books to read and sent you to the theatre or on a walk about the city so that you could watch life for yourself and see what the Bolsheviks wanted and what they were doing.

The Shaw pamphlet, like his other writings, was widely read, and was reprinted more than once.

THIS WAS IN FRANCE

(From the events of 1919)

L'Humanité reported on January 13, 1919, that Laval (then a young man and a prosperous demagogue who later became Prime Minister and an ally of Hitler's. He was executed for treason.—*Ed.*) had attempted to make an anti-Soviet speech at a meeting, but had been met with such a storm of indignation that he had to give up the attempt.

All the rallies and meetings in France at that time invariably demanded that interference in Russian affairs

should cease. Many of the workers' meetings finished with shouts of "Long live Lenin! Long live the Soviets!"

On April 17, 1919, many thousands of workers and working women in the metal industry attended a meeting in Paris convened by their trade union. The following resolution was passed at the meeting:

"This meeting of working men and women in the metal industry, assembled under the auspices of our trade union, resolves to demand an 8-hour working day for all workers.

"We resolve also to make the First of May celebration a demonstration against the intervention in Russia and for the ending of the *cordon sanitaire.*

"Respect the freedom to think and write; bring the army back from Russia; establish peace among the nations."

On May 1, the Clemenceau Government put Paris under martial law. The city was inundated with police and soldiers. Nevertheless, 500,000 workers came out on the streets, marching under the slogans of an immediate end to the intervention, speedy demobilization, and a full amnesty for those being persecuted for their political beliefs.

In some localities there were sanguinary clashes between the police and the demonstrators. There were also cases of soldiers fraternizing with the workers.

A huge wave of strikes broke over the country in May and June 1919. The workers' struggles for their own immediate demands were interwoven with the fight against the anti-Soviet war.

At the beginning of June 1919, the French National Federation of Mine-Workers adopted a decision to reach agreement with the British miners with a view to working out common measures to stop the armed invasion of Soviet Russia.

The French miners' resolution, which was published in *L'Humanité* on June 4, expressed the hope "that common action will make it possible to prevent any new dispatch of troops to Russia."

"The Society of Friends of the Russian People" was set up in July 1919. As is clear from its programme, the society had these aims:

"1) To dispel the slanderous fabrications which are artificially separating the Russian people from the French people, and to prepare the basis for lasting friendship between the peoples of these countries.

"2) To put an end to the intervention and blockade.

"3) To bring about the repatriation of Russian soldiers and citizens being held in French concentration camps. Pending their repatriation, to organize material and moral help for them."

"The Society of Friends of the Russian People" carried out a wide campaign against the government's recognition of the Kolchak "government," and for the immediate cessation of the intervention.

On October 26, 1919, *L'Humanité* published the following appeal from a group of leaders of French culture:

"A great unfortunate country, torn and exhausted by all its foreign and civil wars, is about to experience sufferings even greater than those which have so far overwhelmed it. Russia is about to see again drawn around it a criminal blockade without precedent and without excuse. Millions of innocent beings who are not always able even to understand the causes of their profound suffering, but who are nonetheless tortured, are about to experience more cruelly than ever hunger and all the material and moral disasters which hunger brings with it.

"The Allied governments, to attain this inhuman end, have united with their former enemies, and have not hesitated to exert pressure on neutral countries.

"We are not concerned with politics. We are not even concerned with knowing whether or not the present Government of Russia imperils—as people say—the order of the world. A great crime is being committed against humanity, a crime such as can result in no good for anyone. We refuse to be parties to this crime; we refuse to be parties to it even by our silence. We protest with all the force of our hearts and minds against an act unworthy of humanity in general and of the traditions of our country in particular."

Lenin spoke about this at the Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets:

"In this declaration, the signatures to which are headed by that of Anatole France and include that of Ferdinand Buisson, I counted seventy-one names of representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia known to the whole of France. These people declare that they are opposed to interference in the affairs of Russia, because the blockade, the resort to killing by starvation, from which children and old people are perishing, is an outrage to culture and civilization, and that they cannot tolerate it. And the well-known French historian Aulard, who is thoroughly imbued with the bourgeois outlook, says in a letter:

"'As a Frenchman, I am an enemy of the Bolsheviks; as a Frenchman, I am a supporter of democracy, and it would be ridiculous to suspect me of the contrary. But when I read that France is inviting Germany to take part in the blockade of Russia, when I read that France has addressed such a proposal to Germany, a blush of shame mounts my cheeks.'

"This is perhaps merely a verbal expression of feeling on the part of a representative of the intelligentsia; but it may be said that this is our third victory over imperialist France, a victory won on French territory."

In December 1919, the dockers of Bordeaux refused to load military equipment on to a British ship which was bound for Riga, for fear that the war material would be handed over to Yudenich. They quickly organized a strike for the demand that no supplies of any kind be sent to the Whiteguards and the interventionists.

In spite of the large-scale unemployment and their own desperate living conditions, the dockers of Brest repeatedly refused to load weapons and military supplies for the enemies of the Soviet country.

THE PEOPLE REPUDIATE THE HANGMEN'S CONSPIRACY

The famous French writer, Henri Barbusse, who expressed the feelings and thoughts of the broad masses of his countrymen, was a passionate champion of the October Revolution.

Here is what he said at a meeting organized by the Labourers trade union in Paris on October 19, 1919.

"Comrades,

"I was delighted to accept the invitation from your splendid organization.

"I am glad to be with you in this family of class-conscious workers, a large family which I look on as my own.

"Like you, I am a toiler. Even if we have different occupations, we think alike. We are related by what is highest and most important in mankind: consciousness, ideas, and hopes. We belong to one camp. When I say that I greet you as a brother, I use these words in the widest and most human sense: they mean complete solidarity and the deepest trust.

"I am happy and proud also that I have come to tell you about the Russian Revolution, to join with you in the indignant protest that must burst from the breast of every honest man who sees the fearful crime now being committed against the Soviet Socialist Republic.

"Two years have passed since the Russian people became free.

"For two years now they have been torn apart by the 'Great Powers,' and this, alas, means also the great peoples of other countries. For two years now, Russia has been fighting and staring death in the face, while encircled in an inexorable ring of war and blockade. You know this. You also know that from its very first days the intervention has been concealed in a villainous guise of lies and hypocrisy. Not one of its organizers has declared the war of intervention openly. Not one of them has dared at any time to take off his mask. There is neither a declaration of war nor an open discussion of its motives.

"The intervention has been partially admitted in parliamentary debates and government statements, then denied, then admitted again when there was no escape from facts and figures. A just cause is never conducted in that way.

"In fact, the war against the Russian Revolution has not stopped for one minute. It has been carried out by the bosses of the Entente—and on this matter they are in more

complete agreement than they have ever been—bitterly, systematically, and with a calculation and skill that would not have been out of place in other circumstances, even then when the war concerned ourselves.

"All measures were put into motion. I have in mind not only the soldiers, recruited by force, those officially called up, who, with ridiculous and monstrous irony, are referred to as volunteers. I also have in mind the support given to the Russian counter-revolution from the very beginning, even before it was recognized officially, the direct instigation and organization of the counter-revolutionary forces by the representatives of free Britain and revolutionary France.

"How much has the intervention cost us already? Cachin, doing his duty as a people's representative, put this question bluntly to M. Pichon.* But Pichon has a different type of duty—he began to hedge, he didn't know, it would all have to be estimated from the beginning, the figures would have to be checked, he would have to look for the documents.... No one will ever know how much this anti-Russian adventure has cost us, nor shall we ever find out how many of our young people have been sent there. Only that one fine day we shall discover that we have many more among the "missing" than we had thought, and that we have taxes to pay which we cannot afford to meet.

"Finally, alongside the war which our soldiers are waging, or rather, are being compelled to wage, a blockade has been organized with the aim of killing off those who escape death in the war. The blockade spells starvation, epidemics, the disorganization of trade, industry, and transport; it is a dead weight spread over a huge expanse of territory. The blockade is the slow, organized death of the population in a country of many millions. All the peace proposals advanced by the Russians are arrogantly rejected by our masters.

"And at the same time an unprecedented campaign of lies is being carried out in order to justify this methodic-

* Pichon—Minister of War in the Clemenceau Government.—*Ed.*

ally realized crime; the big press—that shameful manifestation of our so-called democracy—is trying to suggest to their humble and, alas, numerous flock of readers that the question of the Bolsheviks does not require discussion, as they are essentially fiends.

"But real life has nothing in common with legends. Real life will overturn one after another all the accusations made against the Bolsheviks and the new order they have set up, and above all the lies shall appear the noble and high principles which the present rulers of Russia have been able to realize for the first time in the world.

"My personal opinion is that mankind will one day accept these great laws if we are to set up a system wherein peace and justice are secure. I shall add further that my personal view is that the consciousness of the world is leading directly towards these ideals.

"What does it mean, this conspiracy of hate, which is aimed against people who have the truth on their side?

"Involuntarily you ask yourself: has the human race gone mad?

"No, it is not madness. Truth, comrades, is simple. If they wish to destroy the Russian revolution, and Russia together with it, it is because they wish to destroy socialism. By waging war, the reactionary governments want to protect their own reactionary privileges, that's all.

"The first genuinely socialist system in history has arisen and is being consolidated on the earth. Why, it was not the German Republic, that masked monarchy, saturated through and through with militarism, that has so much disturbed the peace of mind of the capitalist masters.

"Experience such as the Russian is very important. As it is being perfected, it will react inevitably on all. The reactionary rulers know this; that is why they are striving at all costs to do away with this experience even if it means dooming Russia to perdition. They are trying to kill liberty in order to prove that it lacks vitality.

"The war against Russia is nothing but a social and political war. It is an acute and grandiose stage of the

class war. Either socialism is forcibly destroyed or it will conquer all.

"Events are following one another with great speed and clarity. In fact, there are only two forces in the world—those who stand for the past, and those who are trying to build a new society. Two opposing and mutually hostile formulas: to keep the old or build the new. A struggle is going on between them....

"It is intolerable that the people should remain submissive and passive spectators of these furious attacks of the capitalists. Let it never be said that the capitalists were able to smother the freedom-loving efforts of the people with the help of the people themselves.

"It is necessary to act. I call on you, I beseech you to act. Do not be indifferent witnesses of the greatest crime that history has ever known. Our words must not be empty nor our thoughts no more than thoughts. We must find the means, sufficiently effective, sufficiently correct and menacing, in order to show that the people reject the murderous conspiracy against a great people and their great hopes—which are your hopes too.

"When we, each one of us, return to our homes, to our own hearths, let us think of the multitude of hearths that are being ruined only because the people's destiny is guided by the spite and greed of the exploiters. It would be more correct to say: think of your own hearths, because all the working people, all the oppressed of the world, are indissolubly linked with one another.

"Comrades, the flag of the Soviet Socialist Republic, which, because of our passivity, the enemy is threatening to pull down, is the Red flag of emancipated humanity. A golden symbol and inscription have been embroidered on it. The symbol is the hammer and sickle. The inscription is not one of those we see on the flags of the past, reminding us of barbarism and militarism, or of some episode of mass slaughter—no! On the Soviet flag has been inscribed the call of reason which a long time ago was blazoned to the world by Karl Marx:

"'Workers of all countries, unite!'"

THIS WAS IN AMERICA

(From the events of 1919)

In June 1919, *The Liberator* wrote that an anti-Bolshevik meeting organized on April 20 was attended by more than four thousand people. When the chairman began his speech and uttered the words "socialism" and "Bolshevism" the hall resounded with loud, prolonged applause. The anti-Bolshevik speakers were not given a chance to speak. The meeting ended with revolutionary speeches and songs.

In answer to the monstrous campaign of calumny which almost the whole of the American press was waging against the Soviets, Lincoln Steffens, a well-known American journalist, said on his return from Russia in the spring of 1919: "I have seen the future—and it works!"

The main slogans of the mass demonstrations throughout America on May 1, 1919, were: "Help Soviet Russia" and "Free the political prisoners." Fifty thousand Cleveland workers marched through the streets with these slogans. The government sent large contingents of police and cutthroats to disperse the demonstrators.

Charles Ruthenberg, leader of the Cleveland demonstration, said:

"Of course, the workers went over to the counter-offensive very energetically. But they found themselves in an unfavourable situation, as their columns were stretched out over the city. The fighting continued approximately from two o'clock in the afternoon till late in the evening. Two workers were killed by the police. Hundreds were badly beaten up, and nearly 150 arrests were made."

There were widespread clashes with the police during the First of May demonstration in Boston. More than a hundred workers were arrested, and many of them were wounded.

A conference of workers in the New York tobacco industry, at which more than 25,000 were represented, passed this resolution:

"1. We, as citizens of the United States, call upon the Congress of the United States to take action in the present

Russian situation which shall bring about the discontinuance of the blockade against the Russian Soviet Republic. Without our having declared war against Russia this blockade is bringing death by starvation to hundreds of thousands every month.

"2. We urge the immediate recall of all American troops in Russia and the abandonment of attempts to secure special troops for service there. That is no service for the soldiers of a democracy.

"3. We do most earnestly protest against the conniving or collaborating of our government with any counter-revolutionary groups such as those of Kolchak or Denikin servers of a discredited monarchical regime.

"4. We hold that the American government must do nothing that will hinder the Russian people from determining their own form of government in accordance with their own economic and political ideals.

"5. In sum, we call upon the Congress to exercise its constitutional functions for the purpose of creating a genuinely democratic foreign policy, consistent with the traditions of a nation which cherishes the honourable memories of the revolution by which it was founded and the civil war by which it was perpetuated...."

On July 15, a meeting in New York attended by 15,000 people adopted a resolution demanding complete non-interference by the United States in Russian affairs. The resolution declared:

"An American expedition against the Soviet Government, which enjoys the confidence of all the Russian people, would give rise in Russia to a completely undesirable hatred towards America."

Following the example of the Seattle dockers, the waterfront workers of Baltimore also refused to load arms intended for the Whiteguards and interventionists. They called a strike in protest against the dispatch of arms from America to Russia. The strike seriously disturbed the government and was a subject for debate in the Senate and the House of Representatives.*

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* "Congressional Record," Vol. 58, pt. 7, p. 6563.

Senator Borah stated in the Senate on September 5, 1919:

"Mr. President, we are not at war with Russia; Congress has not declared war against the Russian Government or the Russian people. The people of the United States do not desire to be at war with Russia.... Yet, while we are not at war with Russia, while Congress has not declared war, we are carrying on war with the Russian people. We have an army in Russia; we are furnishing munitions and supplies to other armed forces in that country, and we are just as thoroughly engaged in conflict as though constitutional authority had been evoked, a declaration of war had been had, and the Nation had been called to arms for that purpose....

"...There is neither legal nor moral justification for sacrificing these lives. It is in violation of the plain principles of free government."

The Congress of the Socialist Party, meeting in Chicago in September, accepted a resolution which ran:

"Never have the American people been shamed so much as by the declaration of war by the capitalist classes against Socialist Soviet Russia."

The Nation demanded at the end of 1919 the immediate evacuation of all American troops from Vladivostok, and north and south Russia, pending the complete cessation of military action. It demanded the rejection of the plan for a military expedition to the Ukraine and the immediate recognition of the Soviet Government.

It demanded this in the name of the Russian Revolution, in the name of the starving Russian people, and mainly because the U.S.A. should have on its part helped to right this unheard-of wrong, so that not a single one of the lives lost in this war would have been sacrificed for lies and empty phrases.

THE HEROIC DOCKERS OF SEATTLE

In October 1919, the dockers of Seattle, on the Pacific coast of America, refused to load military supplies for the counter-revolutionary armies in Russia. The departure

of the *Delight*, with a cargo of 185,000 rifles, 426 boxes of spare parts for weapons, a large consignment of ammunition for Maxim machine-guns, and other military equipment for Kolchak, was held up for more than a month.

On October 22, the Whiteguards' representative in Washington reported dejectedly to his chiefs:

"Pickets have been arranged near the railway wagons and the ship to prevent loading. The dock-owners had to write a letter to the trade union asking for workers. The trade union did not even reply.... And if it had not been for the most strict orders from Washington the supplies would probably still be here. When the *Delight* was finally loaded and all the necessary papers were ready, the ship's departure was once more held up for a week without any reason. When it did leave the dock, some kind of breakdown occurred and it was again held up for some time to undergo repairs."

We shall now quote from the reminiscences of the progressive American journalist, Anna Louise Strong, published at one time in the Soviet press.

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"Among the many selfless sacrifices borne by the workers in the defence of the Soviets was the strike of the Seattle dockers in the October days of 1919.

"At that time Seattle was the centre of the revolutionary sympathy to Russia. Its wharfs had been transformed into large shipyards employing tens of thousands of metalworkers. Seattle was known as a 'trade union' town and its organized workers with their families constituted more than one-third of the population. The workers published their own daily newspaper. *Seattle Union Record*, as it was called, was the first newspaper in the United States energetically to support the cause of the October Revolution.

"We printed in the *Seattle Union Record* all that we could get to know about the October Revolution, about Soviet power. I was then a member of the editorial board in charge of the foreign news section of the paper; I remember

how difficult it was to get any kind of honest information about Russia....

"But after a while we began to receive the books of John Reed, Albert Rhys Williams, and Louise Bryant. We reprinted whole pages of them, until the publishers started to complain that we were infringing the authors' copyrights. Subsequently, a copy of a speech made by Lenin fell into our hands. The speech set forth the tasks of the Soviet Government and the means by which these tasks were to be realized. We reprinted 20,000 copies of the document and they were quickly taken up.

"A Canadian labour organization in Vancouver (this town is only eight hours by boat from Seattle) asked for permission to use our translation of Lenin's speech; they also printed and circulated 20,000 copies in Western Canada. This was the first authoritative publication on the acts and intentions of the Soviet Government to be issued in Western America. From that time on one could see workers with Lenin's booklet on every ship in port, and on every wharf. We called the booklet: *How the Soviets Work*. Workers took it with them when they were changing their jobs in different ports.

"It may well be imagined what attitude these pro-Soviet workers had towards Kolchak.

"However, the time came when supplies were to be sent from the United States to Kolchak. They were brought to Seattle as the largest docks on the Pacific coast were situated there.

"When the workers learned where the supplies they were expected to load were going, they immediately said: 'No!', stopped work, and reported the matter to their union.

"The ensuing argument between the union and the employers was all the more bitter since the first collective agreement had only been signed a short time before.

"It should be said that the Seattle port workers union had been fighting stubbornly for several years to get such a collective agreement. Prior to this large crowds of dockers had to stand outside the gates and wait in the broiling sun or in the cold rain, until the foreman came out and looked

them over, picking out those he wanted for loading or unloading. The stronger looking workers were given preference, and they had to work to the point of exhaustion for fear of losing their jobs, while other workers had nothing to do. The trade union insisted that the workers be selected in turn and on the basis of conditions agreed to by the owners and the union. The union had fought for these demands over a number of years without success.

"And it was only during the war, when the trade union had grown stronger, that the workers managed to get the collective agreement with the shipowners.

"The long-awaited agreement had been signed only a few days before the dispatch of arms to Kolchak was due to begin. And now the workers refused point-blank to load the ship, although this action was a breach of the agreement.

"The shipowners were extremely angry. Ships lying idle were a great loss to them. They announced that as the dockers had broken the agreement, the shipowners would never sign another agreement with them.

"But the dockers did not give way.

"The supplies for Kolchak were then sent south, to Portland. However, the Portland dockers also refused to load them. The same thing happened in Vancouver. Eventually the arms for Kolchak were dispatched with the aid of strikebreakers.

"Since then the Seattle port workers did not once succeed in getting a collective agreement.* Their fraternal solidarity with the Soviet people was considered by the owners to be an attempt at revolution, and even attracted the attention of Washington. Seattle was looked on as a dangerous town and business orders and work began to bypass it. Finally, the Seattle wharfs were closed down altogether.

"The Seattle workers had to look for jobs elsewhere. The large Metal-Workers Union, which had had tens

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* These reminiscences of Anna Louise Strong were published in 1927.—*Ed.*

of thousands of members, and had been the main pillar of the labour movement in the town, was reduced to a mere group. The American Federation of Labour, alarmed at the radicalism of this western town, started to drive every prominent trade unionist one after another out of there.

"As the port workers trade union was not strong enough to achieve a collective agreement with the shipowners, the dockers also had to seek work in other ports, or on the railways, or in the timber camps. Dispersed over the vast territory, of the United States, these workers, singly or in groups of twos and threes, followed the news from Soviet Russia, and were sincerely glad of its successes. At times they recalled how in October 1919 they had sacrificed the fruits of long years of struggle, so as not to betray their Russian comrades fighting for the October Revolution."

DUEL IN THE CAPITOL

In February and March 1919, a special commission of the United States Senate under the chairmanship of Overman carried out in public an "examination of Bolshevik propaganda."

A motley crew of witnesses of one and the same anti-Soviet breed filed obsequiously before the commission; they were mostly misfits from the intelligence service, businessmen whose predatory schemes had been upset by the Russian Revolution, and out-and-out Whiteguards beaten by the Red Army. They all violently abused the October Revolution, Soviet government, and the Soviet people. The commission took up their nonsensical fabrications and filthy slanders, and in some cases put the words into the mouth of an insufficiently zealous "witness."

"Better tell us more about the plunders...."

"And how about the nationalization of women?"

"Can you tell us something about the Bolsheviks' acts of barbarism?"

All things considered, the ruling circles of America

at that time presupposed that by sticking the label of the Capitol on the anti-Soviet campaign, they would give it, so to speak, an official character, by means of the commission meetings and its corresponding seal. They hoped to make their campaign more convincing, and thus be able to justify in the eyes of the people both the intervention against the Soviet state and the raging persecution of the "Reds" in America itself. The servile press guaranteed to the commission an audience of many millions, and clamorously informed their readers of what was said by every new, openly anti-Soviet slanderer.

However, the broth from the "Overman kitchen" was not to the taste of the American people. A wave of protest meetings against the crude prejudices of the commission and the biassed selection of witnesses spread throughout the country. Sharply worded telegrams were sent by electors to their representatives in the Capitol.

Under the pressure of public opinion, the senators finally had to allow a number of honest people to testify, people who had been trying long and vainly to do so.

And thus, on February 20, 1919, the journalist Louise Bryant appeared before the commission.

Before allowing her to relate what she had seen in Russia, the senators elucidated her religious beliefs at such length and with such bias that she exclaimed:

"It seems to me as if I were being tried for witchcraft." *

They fired all kinds of absurd provocative questions at her in order to keep the Russian question as far away as possible. And when she did eventually begin to speak about her visit to Russia, the senators kept interrupting her.

Miss Bryant. You said, Senator Overman, that I am not on trial here. I am a free American citizen. I expect to be treated with the same courtesy as former witnesses, and I have not gotten it so far. (*Applause.*)

*Senator Wolcott.*** Mr. Chairman, I am going to suggest

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* All the statements from witnesses and senators are taken from the official stenographic report of the Overman commission.—*Ed.*

** Member of the Overman commission.— *Ed.*

that this room be cleared and that no further testimony be taken until the room is cleared.

Miss Bryant. Everybody out? I will not testify unless it is before an open session. It is very necessary that these things be known.

No matter how much they hindered her, Louise Bryant explained that the Soviets were a government of the people striving for a better life, and that there was no other country in the world where women were so free as they were in Soviet Russia. She said that she did not recognize the intervention as just and that America had no right to meddle in Russian affairs.

When the writer John Reed came before the commission he managed in the few minutes he was given to describe the majestic and stern birth of a new world in which he foresaw—and he did not hide this—the future of all mankind. In answering the senators' questions, he refuted with facts the ill-intentioned conjectures of the enemies of the Soviet Republic about its laws, its rights, and its foreign policy.

Senator Wolcott. Is that the philosophy of their international programme, to try to make all the world socialistic, and thus, so to speak, make the world safe for socialism?

Mr. Reed. I should say it was. I may say that they are not going to do it with an invading army, but by the advertisement of their doctrine. That is international socialism, which has existed for the last 40 or 50 years.

To weaken the force of Reed's arguments, the members of the commission tried by their questions and remarks to create the impression that Reed was financially interested in "Red propaganda."

Mr. Reed. ... For example, we publish pamphlets, you know. I will go to a fellow that I know, or one or two fellows, and borrow a thousand dollars and get a translation of a Russian pamphlet or a Russian decree, or something of that sort, and publish it, and then we send it all over the United States through the mails and the express and sell it and get the money back from it, and what we

get back we put into another pamphlet. But there are no funds back of this business here. There is no money in talking about Russia in this country.

Then came the publicist Albert Rhys Williams. With wrathful irony he exposed the murderers of freedom who were asking the working people to be charitable.

Mr. Williams. ... But when you bring before the bar of history the Bolsheviks, charged with Red terror, and on the other side the Whiteguards and Black Hundreds, charged with the White terror, I know that when they raise their hands, the gnarled and toil-stained hands of the peasants and workmen will be very white compared with the hands of these ladies and gentlemen of privilege.

Like John Reed and Louise Bryant, Williams called a spade a spade; he did not conceal his views; on the contrary, he defended them courageously.

*Mr. Humes.** You say that you are here as a champion of the Bolsheviks; that you are defending them; that you were and are at present.

Mr. Williams. Precisely.... And so I do know how to bring home to you—and I do not think it will get home to you by my particular statement here—my belief in the Soviet Government as a vital basic power in harmony with the needs of the Russian people. I believe it with all my soul, because the other governments have shown by the manner of their dying that they had no right to live.... It has been systematically boycotted and blockaded by the Allies, with the French and the British leading in striving to strangle Soviet Russia. The British emissaries and French emissaries all took precisely the same attitude toward Soviet Russia. Then, under the guise of Allied diplomatic privilege, in the embassies conspiracies of all kinds were made, particularly by the French and the British, against the Soviet Government and Soviet officials. Yet these people went on, handicapped on every side, and I say that the fact that the Soviet Government,

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* Senator and member of the commission.—*Ed.*

beset and bedevilled on all sides, exists at all shows its basic strength.

Not knowing how to oppose facts, the senators again resorted to the fable about "Soviet gold" which was allegedly fostering "Red propaganda."

Senator Wolcott. How are your lecture tours financed in this country? I mean, of course, by lecture tours, to confine the phrase to those in which you engage in talking upon Russia, concerning the Bolsheviks and the Soviet Government. I do not know whether you talk on other subjects or not.

Mr. Williams. ... For example, I have been in Chicago this last week. There was a big meeting there of the Workers' Institute. They charged 15 cents admission and about 5,000 people paid it. They were very much interested in the Russian situation. From that meeting I received $150. And then in the Chicago City Club, where assemble the businessmen, who could afford to pay for the meeting, I spoke the next day, and I got a 65-cent dinner out of it.

Williams declared firmly:

"... there has not been one cent ever arrived in America from Russia for propaganda purposes."

And at once turned to the commission with the question:

"What a great section of the American public are interested in knowing is, what are the sources of the propaganda funds that have been used so largely toward stirring up intervention in Russia?"

Several members of the commission answered that certainly it was not within the scope of the resolution.

After Bryant, Reed, and Williams had appeared before the "Overman kitchen," the commission was so compromised that the press preferred not to remind people of its existence.

So ended the duel between truth and lies, light and darkness, which took place in February 1919, within the walls of the Capitol, at the sessions of the commission of the United States Senate.

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD
(From the events of 1919)

Canada

The Western Labour Conference held in Calgary in March 1919 sent a telegram to Lenin, the Soviet Government, and the Red Army expressing its solidarity. At the same time the conference demanded that the Canadian Government withdraw their troops and end the imperialist intervention in Soviet Russia.

Italy

The seamen of Genoa held up the ship *Feodora* until, on June 9, 1919, the Minister of Transport made an official announcement that in an agreement reached in Rome with a delegation from the Seamen's Federation, the *Feodora* would not be used to carry interventionist troops or arms for Kolchak.

A month later, on July 10, seamen prevented the British ship *Gablon* from leaving the port of Naples for Vladivostok with a cargo of arms for Kolchak. The carpenters and dockers of Genoa, the metal-workers of Sampierdarene and the postal-workers of Turin warmly greeted the seamen's decisions to stop military supplies going to the enemies of the proletarian revolution.

China

When the Peking Government in May 1918 signed an agreement with the Japanese "on armed opposition to communism," Chinese students studying in Japan returned home in protest. The Peking students in turn fought against the reactionary activities of the Peking Government and the Japanese imperialists. The newspapers of those days, especially *Shenpao*, reported many student meetings, demonstrations, and petitions.

A mighty anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement arose in China on May 4-5, 1919, as a protest against the decision of the Peace Conference to hand over to Japan the former German concessions in China. The U.S.A., Britain,

and France, who were collaborating with Japan in a joint plan of struggle against Soviet Russia, had agreed to support Japan's claims in regard to China. But the Chinese people, and, above all, the Chinese working class, answered this with demonstrations of protest, the boycott of Japanese goods, and widespread strikes.

During the movement of May 4-5, 1919, the struggle of the Chinese people merged with the struggle of the working people of Russia and the proletariat of the West against world imperialism. "The movement of May 4-5," said Mao Tse-tung, "was born in answer to the call of the world revolution, to the call of the Russian Revolution, to the call of Lenin."

In the November issue of *Sinchinyan*, 1918, Li Ta-chao, a leading Chinese revolutionary and scholar, one of the founders of the Communist Party of China, wrote in an article dedicated to the Great October Socialist revolution:

"Greeting this event as the beginning of the greatest transformation in history, we express our joy not because it is one country or part of a country that is involved, but that a new dawn has arisen for all humanity. We express our joy not because the armed forces of one country have defeated the armed forces of another country, but because democracy has defeated monarchy, socialism has defeated imperialism."

Norway

The students of Christiania (Oslo) in November 1919 addressed a protest to the Norwegian Government against any participation by Norway, whether direct or indirect, in the blockade of Soviet Russia.

Brazil

From June 21 to 23, a general strike of protest against the anti-Soviet blockade and intervention was carried out in Brazil. In the resolutions passed by many workers meetings, it was proposed that Brazil initiate a boycott of the Entente Powers as a means of forcing them to call off their blockade of Soviet Russia.

Yugoslavia

At the First Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia (Communists), meeting from April 20 to 23, 1919, it was decided that the Congress:

"...Campaign with all forces against the counter-revolutionary role which the Yugoslavian bourgeoisie is playing in Russia, Hungary, and neighbouring countries, and call on the government to recall immediately all troops intended for counter-revolutionary aims.

"...Call on the working class of Britain, France, and Italy to bring pressure to bear on their governments and insist on the withdrawal of their troops from Yugoslavian territory and from Russia, Hungary, Austria, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Italy.

"The working people of Yugoslavia have no enemies among the toilers of these countries!

"In particular, Congress expresses its solidarity with the cause of the Russian and Hungarian working classes, and calls on the Yugoslavian soldiers to take all measures to oppose the attempts of the reactionary bourgeoisie to suppress the gains of the revolutions in these countries. It is our sacred duty to impede the bourgeoisie in this contemplated action, and it is at the same time the best defence of the interests of our own working class. The Yugoslavian working class sends a similar appeal to the troops of the Entente not to sacrifice their lives for the destruction of the socialist republics.

"Considering the Soviet governments of Russia, Hungary, and Bavaria to be the only genuine representatives of these countries, Congress requests the government immediately and without reservation to recognize these republics and establish normal, friendly relations with them as well as with the governments which have been elected by the free will of the people in all the new states."

On July 15, 1919, *Rabochaya Gazeta*, the organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia (Communists), published in Belgrade an appeal by the Party for the organization of a general strike on July 20-21.

"The brigands of international capital have joined

forces so as to destroy at any cost the first fruits of socialism—the workers' republics of Russia and Hungary," said the appeal. "The victory of imperialist intervention in Russia and Hungary would be a serious setback for the world working class and socialism. Intervention in Russia and Hungary is a crime against the socialist working class and, therefore, the workers of the world must act as one man to prevent it no matter what sacrifices may be involved.

"With this aim, the workers of Britain, France, and Italy, together with the workers of all other countries, should organize meetings, demonstrations, and general strikes on July 20-21. The socialist workers of the world must demand categorically from their governments that they immediately end their hostile policies in regard to Russia and Hungary and immediately establish friendly relations with these truly admirable workers' states. The international working class will openly and clearly let the bourgeoisie understand that the cause of the Russian and Hungarian workers is the cause of the international working class."

An article "On the International Mass Movement" appeared in *Rabochaya Gazeta* on July 20, 1919. It said: "The workers of all lands in their own interests must fight to the death.

"All oppressed peoples are now undoubtedly faced with the question of what weapons to use in the battles ahead.

(Paragraph deleted by censor).

"Trade union and parliamentary struggle alone cannot bring the desired success. Mass revolutionary action is now an essential weapon in all countries. The time for great mass movements has come; the time for joint action by the masses of all countries now faces us.

"Imperialism is arming itself secretly for new battles; it is preparing to suppress the great social revolutions in Russia and Hungary. Therefore, the world working class is confronted with a new task—mass action on an international scale.

"On July 21 of this year the world proletariat led by the workers' organizations of Britain, France, and Italy

will carry out a general strike in protest against the intervention by the Entente troops in Russia and Hungary.

"The Yugoslavian working class knows clearly which epoch we have entered and which international duties it has to fulfil. On July 21, the Yugoslavian workers will also demonstrate their international solidarity by stopping work completely.

"Let our call resound throughout Yugoslavia on July 21:

"Long live international working-class solidarity!"

The Serbian bourgeoisie had prepared counter-revolutionary troops for intervention in Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary. However, thanks to the courageous opposition of the whole working class of Yugoslavia headed by the Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia (Communists)—an opposition which was clearly expressed in the general strike of July 20-21—the reactionaries did not dare to send the troops to suppress the Hungarian Revolution and to fight against the Russian people. The plans of the reactionaries were frustrated.

Sweden

In August 1919, the Göteborg dockers refused to load a ship with military supplies earmarked for the Whiteguards.

Poland

At a meeting of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies from the large centres of Poland, held in Warsaw on March 5-6, 1919, a decision was taken to demand from the government "the immediate ending of all military action, particularly against revolutionary Russia, Latvia, and Byelorussia." This demand, with a number of others, was reinforced by a country-wide general strike on March 12-13.

Fifty thousand Warsaw workers, several tens of thousands of Lodz workers, as well as demonstrators in many other towns, came out on to the streets on May 1, 1919, with the slogans: "Down with the war!", "Down with the imperialist Entente!", and "Long live Soviet Russia!"

Mass demonstrations of solidarity with Soviet Russia, held on July 20, 1919, in Warsaw, the Dombrowski basin, and in a number of other districts, were dispersed by the police only after a series of attacks.

Czechoslovakia

The first Prime Minister of the Czechoslovakian Republic, Kramář, who represented the interests of the big financiers and the large landowners, proclaimed an anti-Soviet policy, and proposed to France to organize a 200,000-strong Czechoslovakian army to fight against Soviet Russia.

This scheme met with determined resistance of the working people.

The Kramář Government lasted for only eight months. It was defeated at the general election of June 15, 1919.

THE WHITEGUARDS SOUND THE ALARM

(From the State Archives)

1

The representative of the so-called "government of the Northern region of Russia" in the U.S.A. wrote on February 11, 1919:

"American democracy as a whole is against the dispatch of troops to Siberia and North Russia.

"On the question of American troops taking part in battles with the Bolsheviks, individual senators, such as Johnson of California and Mason from Illinois, repeatedly raise the matter of recalling American soldiers from Russia. It should be noted that both Johnson and Mason are most radical senators.

"The Socialist Party, from the very beginning, has been opposed to sending troops to Russia and has been demanding the withdrawal of those already there. The party is of the opinion that Russia is now a true socialist state, and that American and Allied aid going to

certain parts of Russia is for the "counter-revolutionaries." Among the counter-revolutionaries they have in mind the bourgeoisie, the Menshevik Social-Democrats, and the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

"The recently organized Workers' Party of America, at its inaugural conference, also expressed the demand for the recall of American troops from Russia. In this respect the voice of the Workers' Party is very important, as the party itself is the result of decay setting in within the American Socialist Party, which in its majority adheres to the principles of Russian Bolshevism.

"The Workers' Party unites all the Socialists as well as the radical elements of the American Federation of Labour. The Social-Democratic League which exists here does not have any strong influence among the masses.

"The latest news from North Russia about the failures and defeats of the American expedition has caused alarm in the press and among the public for the fate of the American soldiers in Russia. The War Office's explanation that the expedition to Russia was decided by the Supreme Military Command in Versailles does not satisfy the Americans...."

2

Denikin's representative in London sent this telegram at the beginning of June, 1919:

"Churchill begs to warn you that as a consequence of the moods among the workers a gradual withdrawal of troops from all fronts will be inevitable beginning from the September winter campaign, so that is why it is essential to take all possible measures to achieve decisive results this year."

3

Kolchak's representative in Paris reported on June 17, 1919:

"Already at the first attempts of the Powers to show military cooperation to the governments of Admiral Kolchak and the Northern regions, the left parliamentary

parties of France and Great Britain sharply criticized decisions of the Powers. Since then the campaign of the opposition circles has not ceased and took on a most persistent form after the conclusion of the armistice. At the same time, the West European revolutionary leaders are trying in every way to spread the campaign among the working class which is easily influenced by propaganda. This propaganda was shown most clearly during the recent strikes of the French labour organizations. Among the demands presented by them to the government is one for the ending of interference in Russian affairs.

"Similar resolutions were adopted recently by the Italian labour syndicates.

"Equally in Britain, too, during the debate on the Russian question in the House of Commons, the Secretary for War, Winston Churchill, was presented with the same demand for the recall of British troops from Russia. This mood also prevailed in the recent debate on questions about the Odessa events and the mutinies on French ships. The reports of the parliamentary debates on this question are attached herewith."

4

Kolchak's representative in London, in his telegram of August 9, 1919, said:

"Because of internal situation Britain has found it necessary to withdraw its troops from Russia. There is a danger of the Odessa events being repeated in the North...."

5

Kolchak's representative in the U.S.A. telegraphed on October 22, 1919:

"My main fears are that with the growing of the strike and labour movement here there is no real certainty of the orders being fulfilled in time, despite the financial outlay. Not long ago, the water-front workers followed the example of other countries refusing to load

military supplies for us and the ship's crew objecting to sail. Therefore, it is possible that something similar may happen in the munition works."

* * *

The solidarity of the working people of the capitalist, semi-colonial, and colonial countries with Soviet Russia, with the people who were the first to throw off the chains of century-old violence and oppression, runs like a red thread through all the world events of the stormy year of 1919.

Chapter Four

FAILURE OF THE INTERVENTION

Winston Churchill was unduly hard on himself and his partners in the intervention when, some time in the forties, he rued the opportunities lost by the men of his circle "to strangle Bolshevism in its cradle."

No, they lost no opportunities. They did all they could to wipe out the young state of the working people. They harried it with an officially declared policy of hunger and came down upon it with an undeclared war, with conspiracies and putsches. They sent Whiteguard hosts and the armies of their vassals against it, and fell upon it with their own well-armed hand-picked troops. They did not spare the blood of their mercenaries, nor that of their own soldiers. They did not even spare gold. Official British sources estimate the cost to Britain of the armed intervention in Soviet Russia at more than £100 millions, and to France at about £40 millions. The United States put tens of millions of dollars into the undertaking, and Japan spent ¥900 millions on its 70,000-strong intervention army in Siberia.

It is not surprising at all that the organizers of the intervention do not care to recall all this in retrospect. Their intense effort and extravagant outlays had all gone down the drain. All the dividends they brought were trouble and a bitter aftertaste of shattered hope.

The intervention was an utter failure, and the Civil War, but for the interference from abroad, would never have been so bitter and protracted.

The collapse of the intervention was, first and foremost, evidence of the strength and vitality of Soviet power, and of the unshakeable determination of the working people of Russia to follow the call of the Communist Party and build a new, happy and bright way of living. This was the reason why the young Red Army, poorly armed and poorly trained—to say nothing of how it was clothed and fed—had a marked edge over the interventionists, and scored successive victories.

At the same time, the collapse of the intervention was in great measure predetermined by the fraternal solidarity of the world proletariat.

In a Government report to the Congress of Soviets in December 1921, V. I. Lenin set the matter forth as follows:

"When we ask ourselves how it could have come about, how it could have happened that one of the unquestionably most backward and extremely weak states, to which the most formidable powers of the world are openly inimical, withstood the onslaught—when we look into the matter we see plainly what it was. We turned out to be right in our fundamental calculations. We turned out to be right in our expectations and in our assumptions. It developed that, though we did not receive the swift, direct and immediate support we had expected from the working masses of the whole world, upon which we had built all our policy, we did receive support of a different kind, support that was neither direct nor swift; we received it to an extent that precisely this support, precisely the sympathy of the working masses, of the workers and of the peasants throughout the world and even in the powers most hostile to us—that precisely this support and this sympathy were the ultimate, the most decisive source, the decisive reason why all the invasions directed against us ended in failure and why the union of the working people of all countries, which we proclaimed, has been sealed and—within the borders of our country—accomplished; and why it exercised an influence on all countries."

The facts of that day are eloquent proof of this.

RED FLAG OVER THE FRENCH NAVY

The first French transports with occupation troops streamed into Odessa and Sevastopol harbours late in November 1918. And early in January 1919 disorders broke out among the interventionists.

Early in February 1919, the French command launched an offensive against Tiraspol. A battalion of the 58th Infantry Regiment marching in the vanguard turned back at the first burst of machine-gun fire. "We didn't come here to fight!" the men shouted. A battery of mountain artillery also refused to open fire on the Red Army. The soldiers were disarmed and sent to Morocco. A military tribunal sentenced many to hard labour.

"On February 1, 1919, we sent scouts to reconnoitre the strength of the Bolsheviks," Marcel Cogire, an ex-soldier of the French 58th Regiment, recalls. "They were taken prisoner. But, to their surprise, they were given back their arms a few hours later and were told: 'Your officers are leading you into battle against the Russian Revolution. Return to your barracks and tell the men that we do not want to fight with you, and that you and we have common tasks. Come to us unarmed and you will be well received.'"

The scouts' account made a deep impression on their comrades. The soldiers decided never to fight against Soviet Russia.

"On February 4, we broke camp, but our destination was unknown. We marched with the entire regiment accompanied by artillery. It was only when we came to the Dniester that we realized we were being taken to Russia.

"We refused to open fire. But our artillery, stationed some 800 metres away, started shooting in the morning. We were witness to an appalling spectacle. Carts overloaded with women and children were showered with case-shot. The horrible sight of defenceless people running across the field under fire roused such fury in us

that we cut the telephone wires connecting the artillery with the commanding post and abandoned our officers on the scene of the massacre.

"We, the ordinary soldiers who stopped the butchery, wanted to contribute in some way to the victory of the Russian workers and peasants."

On March 2, 1919, when Russian partisan forces advanced on Kherson, six companies of the French 176th Regiment refused to counter-attack. The mutineers were sent to Odessa for trial.

On March 26, 1919, letters from French soldiers demanding an end to the war against Soviet Russia were read in the French Chamber of Deputies.

The ground was burning under the feet of the interventionists. Fearing even graver disorders they hastily withdrew their troops and navy from Soviet Russia.

On April 9, 1919, before pulling out of Odessa, entire units of French troops fraternized with the workers and marched through the streets singing the *Internationale*. The 19th Artillery Regiment, the 2nd Field-Engineering and 1st Machine-Gun regiments filed solemnly past the building of the Odessa Soviet shouting revolutionary slogans.

Many of the soldiers ran up the steps of the building to ask the workers for souvenirs, chiefly red ribbons, which they forthwith pinned to their jackets.

Many raised their rifles muzzle down and shouted: "Long live the Bolsheviks!"

Early in April 1919, during the evacuation of French troops from Odessa, two batteries of the 15th Artillery Regiment refused to load equipment, thinking that it was being sent to the front lines. The 2nd Field-Engineering Regiment, which had refused to fight against the Red Army, was withdrawn to Rumania, where it was surrounded and disarmed. One of the men was executed and many were condemned to penal servitude.

On April 16, 1919, in Sevastopol soldiers of the 173rd Regiment refused to fight against Soviet partisans. And when units of the 175th Infantry Division were dispatched to Simferopol to stem a Red Army advance the

French soldiers stopped the train and made it turn back, threatening to shoot their officers if this was not done.

April 18, 1919, was set as the date of an uprising on the French destroyer *Protet*, which was to have been a signal for an uprising of the entire French Black Sea squadron.

The sailors, who had no wish to butcher Russian workers and peasants and suppress the Revolution, intended to demand the immediate return of all French naval and land forces to France.

But on the eve of the uprising some members of the crew were arrested as a result of treachery. This precluded a general uprising of the squadron.

On April 20, 1919, there was an uprising on board the French warships, *France* and *Jean Bart*, anchored in the Sevastopol harbour.

"It struck eight—the hour of flag-raising. An unforgettable spectacle unfolded against the setting of a tranquil morning," a participant of the uprising recalls. "The crews of the *Jean Bart* and *France* lined up almost in full force on the huge foredeck. Instead of saluting the tricolour hoisted astern, they all faced the other way and, standing motionless with heads bared, sang the *Internationale*, while red flags were hoisted on the bows of the two vessels.

"It seemed the crews of the two dreadnoughts had acted in concert. Their manifestation was powerful and harmonious.

"The red flags and the *Internationale* were met with 'hurrahs' from other vessels, serving as a signal for general disorder.

"At about one boats from the squadron came to the pier. About a hundred sailors landed from the *France*. They coiled the tricolours and left only the red stripes of the flags open to view. Boats from the *Mirabeau* pulled up at the same time and a crowd of some 300 sailors soon marched down Yekaterininskaya Street, singing the *Internationale*. One of the *Mirabeau* sailors carried a red banner made a few days before, inscribed in French:

'Long live the World Revolution! Glory to the Russian Proletariat!'

"The French army patrols in the city streets laid down their rifles on meeting the procession and fraternized with the navy.

"The manifestation proceeded singing along the streets with a sense of jubilant elation. Many sailors tore off the red pompons on their caps and pinned them to their shirts. Others waved red flags made of neckties and rags tied to sticks."

Suddenly a hail of bullets met the peaceful procession. Ordered by the French command, Greek patrols opened fire on the demonstration from their machine-guns. Thirteen local inhabitants and seven French sailors were killed.

On April 27, 1919, red flags were hoisted on the battleship *Waldeck Rousseau* and the destroyer *Fauconneau* anchored by its side. Their crews demanded immediate return to France.

The command, panic-stricken, speeded up the evacuation.

The last French warship left Soviet coastal waters on May 2, 1919. The sailors who took part in the uprising were thrown into prisons or sent to labour camps.

As the interventionists withdrew from Odessa 231 French soldiers went over to the Soviet side.

On May 25, 1919, Paris workers staged a powerful manifestation under the Wall of the Communards to demonstrate their solidarity with Soviet Russia and the sailors and soldiers who had refused to fight against it.

A committee was organized to defend servicemen who participated in the uprisings during the anti-Soviet intervention. A broad campaign was launched for their release and amnesty. It lasted years and in the long run was crowned with success.

JEANNE LABOURBE—DAUGHTER OF FRANCE

Shortly before her death she wrote from Odessa to her friends in Moscow:

"...The hardest is yet to come. The path is thorny. This may be my last letter...."

But nothing could stop her. Not even the prospect of a harrowing death.

Her name was Jeanne Labourbe. She lost her parents at an early age and lived in poverty and squalor. At seventeen, in search of a better lot than work at a laundry from seven in the morning to late at night, she went to Russia's Polish provinces in reply to a newspaper advertisement. There she was half-maid and half-governess. This was in 1896.

She studied while she worked and went back to France to sit for her examinations. On returning to Russia as a full-fledged teacher Jeanne joined the revolutionary movement, making a modest beginning by delivering illegal literature. In 1905 she spoke at mass meetings. Many came to know her as an active revolutionary, a Bolshevik. The tsarist authorities learnt of her, and late in 1905 she was deported as an "undesirable."

But Jeanne did not sever her bonds with her second nomeland, where she had learned the purpose of living and had become a Communist. After a brief stay in France she returned to Russia and devoted herself to the revolutionary movement. There is a share of her effort, the effort of a modest and selfless Party member, in the triumph of the October Revolution.

News of the intervention in the south of Russia decided her fate. She yearned to go to Odessa, where French bayonets were being used to crush the Socialist Revolution. Her friends later recalled her anger when she spoke of Frenchmen, descendants of the fighters of the Great French Revolution, being made to butcher freedom. She could not bear the thought. She asked the Central Committee to send her to work among the French soldiers. She insisted.

And early in January 1919, she left for Odessa.

Ten Communists who knew French (called the "foreign collegium" by their Party comrades) whole-heartedly helped the French soldiers brought to Odessa by the bankers, the ill-starred creditors of Nicolas II, to get their political bearings.

Jeanne did the job with the zeal, energy and reckless courage of youth, which did not leave her in her 40 years.

Y. Sokolovskaya, who worked with her in the "foreign collegium," later related:

"Her broad-brimmed felt hat and old fur coat were dangerously conspicuous in the foppish crowd frequenting Odessa's cafés and restaurants, the places where she met the French soldiers. Her comrades insisted that she should change her costume for something smarter.

"But Jeanne only laughed and shook her head.

"'Nonsense!' she would exclaim excitedly, throwing up her arm in that typical Frenchwoman's gesture of derision which won the hearts of her soldier friends. 'The French generals will sooner part with their heads than I shall with my hat.'

"Jeanne worked on, totally oblivious of danger, striking up conversations with French soldiers. She was confident in victory and in the justice of her cause, putting the weight of her arguments to bear on those who believed in the honest intentions of 'French democracy' vis-à-vis the Russian Revolution. She exposed the true intents of the imperialist intervention and the grave consequences it had for Russian workers and peasants."

Often, after hearing Jeanne talk, the soldiers tore off and trampled upon their war orders on the spot, in the café.

Jeanne only shook her head, and her brown eyes sparkled with joy.

"I believe in our France," she would say. "I am proud of our France—the home of revolution."

Even those among the soldiers who disagreed with her on some issues treated her with cordial respect, as they would an elder sister.

But in the evening of February 28 Jeanne, betrayed by an agent provocateur, was arrested in her room. All the

people who were with her at that moment, along with her 70-year-old landlady and the latter's 14- and 16-year-old grandchildren, were also arrested.

They were taken to a house in Yekaterininskaya Square, the premises of the most ruthless of the 17 counter-espionage services then active in Odessa—that of the French army headquarters.

They were put to cruel torture, but did not divulge the information sought from them, and were shot in a desolate ravine outside the city.

Jeanne's corpse was unrecognizably mutilated. It was only her short-cropped curly hair and her torn old coat that helped to identify her.

The authorities tried to bury the executed revolutionaries in secret. Reinforced police patrols were stationed outside the morgue. But the city workers turned out in force at the cemetery. The inscriptions on the red ribbons of the wreaths laid on the graves spoke of a swelling popular wrath against the executioners. Among the wreaths was one from the Odessa Regional Committee of the Communist Party.

The French censors naturally tried to stop word of Jeanne Labourbe's heroic feat from leaking out. It reached France in a roundabout way, via Belgium. The first report about it in *La Vie Ouvrière* on July 23, 1919, caused a stormy reaction. The working people demanded an investigation of the Odessa atrocity and punishment for the scoundrels who tortured and killed Jeanne and her friends for speaking the truth.

The name of Jeanne Labourbe, that remarkable daughter of freedom-loving and gallant France, will live down the ages.

THE NORTH

SOLDIERS REFUSE TO FIGHT

In October 1918 the Northern Front headquarters reported to the People's Commissariat for Military Affairs:

"Arriving American soldiers are uninformed of the political situation in Russia.... When the latest landing party

of Americans arrived in Arkhangelsk they learned for the first time from the workers that they would fight the Russian proletariat defending freedom and the Revolution, instead of Germans. A storm of indignation burst among them against their commanding officers for deceiving them."

In December 1918 the Northern Front reported to Moscow:

"Near the village of Kadysh, at the approaches to Seltsy, representatives of the 339th U.S. Infantry Regiment asked for reading matter about the Russian Revolution. They said they did not want to make war on Russian workers and peasants.

"During the negotiations a representative of the American soldiers declared: 'Americans recognize the Russian Revolutionary Government and will wage no war against Bolsheviks.... Nobody can make them fight it.' He questioned us about our Revolution, asked for a supply of literature and expressed admiration for the tenacity of the Red Army.

"That same day, in the same area, there was organized fraternizing with American soldiers. During an exchange of newspapers and cigarettes the Americans said: 'Khorosh Bolshevik. We are also Bolshevik.'

"The interventionist command changed the American units stationed along this stretch of the front the very next night."

On December 24, 1918, a few days after the removal of the American units from the Kadysh area, Red Army headquarters received a report that "near the village of Kadysh the Americans made a second attempt to negotiate with us, and declared that they did not want to fight."

An armed uprising was brewing early in January 1919 in the American expeditionary force, with the aim of ceasing hostilities against the Soviets. Betrayed by an informer, its leaders were arrested before they had an opportunity to carry out their plan. (*Foreign Relations, 1918, Russia,* Vol. II, p. 577.)

On January 16, 1919, President Wilson told the Supreme Council of the Entente of his deep concern over

British and American soldiers refusing to fight against the Bolsheviks.

British soldiers in Kandalaksha, a station along the Murmansk Railway, mutinied late in January 1919. They demanded a stop to the intervention and wanted to go home. They set fire to the station building, damaged several locomotives and destroyed considerable stocks of railway materials.

In February 1919 unrest broke out in a British army unit brought to Arkhangelsk from Murmansk. Its men refused to go to the front lines. By order of General Ironside, the commander of interventionist forces in nothern Russia, the ringleaders of the manifestation were shot. (*Foreign Relations, 1919, Russia,* pp. 620-21.)

In February 1919 British soldiers protesting against the war set fire to a military storehouse in Murmansk.

On February 27, 1919, the "A" and "D" companies of the 13th Yorkshire Regiment refused to go to the front lines at Seltsy.

On March 1, 1919, a battalion of French soldiers refused to take up positions in the front lines. One hundred and thirteen soldiers were disarmed and instantly sent to France for trial.

Speaking of the intervention in Russia, British Secretary for War Churchill said to the House of Commons on March 6, 1919:

"It is not with conscript troops that anyone would be so foolish as to act."

On March 27, 1919, chief of operations of the British General Headquarters, Redcliffe, approached the War Office with a report urging rapid evacuation from the North of British troops in view of "demoralisation."

On March 30, 1919, a company of the 339th U.S. Infantry Regiment refused to go to the front lines. The servicemen demanded that the U.S. Government evacuate its troops. The alternative, they warned, would be a general uprising. (*New York Times,* April 11, 1919.)

On July 7, 1919, an uprising took place in the 3rd Company of the 1st Battalion of the Slavo-British Le-

gion.* Three British and four Russian officers were killed, and two British and two Russian officers were wounded. Many participants of the uprising were executed, and the battalion disbanded. **

On July 29, 1919, Churchill told the House of Commons, speaking about the British expeditionary force in northern Russia, that there was "considerable unrest amongst these troops during their imprisonment on this coast."

THE FAR EAST

BOLSHEVIKS ARE FRIENDS

In March 1919 the chief of a Whiteguard punitive detachment reported to his superiors that on occupying the village of Novorossiya (*in the Suchan Valley*), he discovered an American soldier. The peasants testified that prior to the arrival of the punitive detachment there had been "ten Americans who agitated against his excellency, the supreme ruler, Admiral Kolchak, and went away to join the partisans at the approach of the detachment."

Reporting to Kolchak about the workers' and peasants' uprising in the Suchan Valley the Whiteguard General Khorvat complained that "our troops, which went into action against the insurgents, far from receiving support from the American garrisons, found them obviously sympathetic to the insurgents."

Kolchak's supervisor of the Trans-Baikal region wrote to his superiors in Omsk on July 7, 1919: "We arrested one Zinchenko for spreading rumours of Bolshevik victories in Irkutsk Gubernia. A crowd of American soldiers learned that Zinchenko had been arrested as a Bolshevik and demanded his release. The district chief complied since resistance was impossible."

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* A military unit formed by the interventionists, in which besides British servicemen there were also Whiteguard officers and forcibly mobilized Russian soldiers.—*Ed.*

** W. P. Coates, *Armed Intervention in Russia*, London 1935, p. 167.

Late in 1919 the Japanese newspaper *Hochi* reported: "The number of soldiers sentenced to imprisonment by the military tribunal in Siberia is steadily rising. Ships arriving from Vladivostok never fail to bring prisoners."

The Japan Chronicle stated in January 1920: "General Mimitsu says that discipline is falling each day among Japanese soldiers in Siberia. Soldiers neglect their duties and their behaviour is far from good."

On February 19, 1920, *Krasnoye Znamya* (*Red Banner*) wrote: "All along the Ussuri Railway there is genuine fraternization between Japanese soldiers and the partisans."

On February 21, 1920, *Pravda* reported: "The patriotic fever of the Japanese is gradually waning. They also turned out to be susceptible to 'Bolshevik infection.' There have been cases of Japanese soldiers openly coming over to our side. The entire crew of a Japanese Red-Cross train came over on February 13. Cases of this kind are not isolated."

Krasnoye Znamya reported on February 28, 1920: "A company of Japanese soldiers and their officers were disarmed in Pervaya Rechka (near Vladivostok). Witnesses say the men were put on a vessel in groups of ten, arms bound behind their backs.

"It was soon learned that they had disobeyed orders, had refused to leave for the front lines,and had cut off their shoulder-straps and pinned on red ribbons. The mutineers were taken aboard the battleship *Mikasa* and shot at sea."

"Twenty-five Japanese soldiers who did not wish to return to Japan and disobeyed their superiors remained in Bira, a railway station. The Japanese authorities wanted to arrest them, but the effort was abortive," reported *Krasnoye Znamya* on March 31, 1920.

In February-March 1920 a group of Japanese soldiers suspected of Bolshevik sympathies was buried alive in Spassk and Vladivostok. Another group of Japanese soldiers was shot in Blagoveshchensk for refusing to take part in punitive expeditions. (From the Far-Eastern Archives.)

Our partisans were gradually "striking up" with Japanese soldiers. Here are a few sketches of Japanese-partisan fraternization, taken from the Far-Eastern Archives:

"In groups of two or three Japanese soldiers contact our partisans at every convenient opportunity.

"'You Barshevik?' the Japanese ask.

"The partisan nods his head.

"'Yes, Bolshevik. Do you want a red ribbon?' 'If you are a worker or peasant,' our partisans say, illustrating their words with signs, 'then you are a Bolshevik too. Here, take it.'

"The Japanese soldier laughs, shakes hands with the partisans, takes the ribbon and pins it to the lining of his jacket.

"'I cannot—cannot. Angry chief,' he says in sign language, trying to explain why he did not pin the ribbon to his chest, as our partisans."

Far-Eastern Communists imprisoned by the Japanese interventionists recall the following episodes:

"...In the evening came the Japanese guards. They asked me to write a few words in Russian. I spoke to them.

"'*Anata wa gakkō no sensei des ka* (Are you a teacher)?' the soldiers asked.

"'*Watakushi wa gakkō no sensei des, kagekiha des* (I am a Bolshevik teacher),' I replied.

"The soldiers said:

"'Teacher—good; officer, bourgeois—bad.'"

"...The Japanese came to visit us. They brought cigarettes, biscuits and magazines. Two of them were ex-workers. They had Bolshevik sympathies, and a dislike for their superiors. They were particularly annoyed by the pay. A Japanese soldier gets a yen or two, a packet of biscuits and a package of cigarettes monthly, while an officer gets over 400 yen and other allowances in kind. It is the same at the factories, the soldiers said. The capitalists stuff their pockets and live off the fat of the land, while a worker drags out a miserable existence on his 35-60 yen.

"... Came the Japanese. They gave us to eat. They leaned their rifles against the wall in the corner and threw off their great-coats with the goatskin collars. They told us they were going home. One of them showed us with his rifle how to bayonet the *shihonka*, or bourgeois. Another explained in sign language that the Bolsheviks were *tomodachi*, or friends."

There was Sato, a Japanese soldier renowned for his courage. An ex-printer, he came to the Far East with the interventionist force and went over to the partisans. His courage and gallantry won everybody's respect.

He died the death of a hero and was buried in Khabarovsk.

HOW IT ALL HAPPENED

Four years after the American intervention in northern Russia a Chicago publishing house put out a book of reminiscences by a certain gentleman "of the upper circles" which was titled, *Archangel* (*Arkhangelsk.—Tr.*). *The American War with Russia.*

It is an honest book in many respects. But its bitterness was probably the reason why the author preferred to appear under the *nom de plume* of "Chronicler."

He brands what the Americans and British did in northern Russia in 1919 as a criminal undertaking and a shameful war. He attests that the Russian people had no sympathy for the Allied cause and that the broad masses were glad when the interventionists finally left their country with shame. He recalls the British General Finelson's words addressed to Americans before battle. Finelson said there should be no hesitation in the effort to wash the "stigma" of Bolshevism off Russia and civilization. The author asks whether this was really the aim of the British in those sinister nights when they shot Russian peasants and set fire to Russian villages? And his own answer is that the only stigma that really existed was the stigma of disgrace which the British left behind as they departed....

But as soon as the upper-crust "Chronicler" touches upon the interventionists' sorest point—the morale and behaviour of their soldiers—he loses coherence and all sense of reality.

He cannot deny, of course, that there was unrest among the interventionist forces. He makes mention in passing of the ninety French "mutineers" who left the front lines and declared that they would not make war on Russia and the Bolsheviks.

He glances over the affray in the "Slavo-British Legion" and the killing of officers as something generally well known and not in need of comment.

His book also holds the following colourful sketch:

"At the close of March a sledge train was to take a U.S. unit from the Smolny barracks to the station, where a train waited to take it to the front.

"But the men did not budge from their barracks. They did not load their equipment.

"The regimental commander came to inquire into the cause of their insubordination. He gathered the soldiers in a large hall and read them the article from the regulations which said that mutiny was punishable by death. Then, after a lengthy pause, he asked if the men in the room had any questions.

"There were no questions about the article in the regulations, because it was clear and definite. But one of the soldiers got to his feet and inquired very politely about the purpose of coming to Russia, and the U.S. Government's intentions.

"The colonel replied candidly that he could give no comprehensive answer to that question, but added that irrespective of the purpose of the expedition they had all to carry out orders because their lives depended on it."

The "Chronicler" goes on to reassure his reader that after this threat the "gallant" men gallantly did their painful duty, and many Russians were killed as enemies. But for what reason, after all, did the American soldiers suddenly hesitate in their "gallantry," even if very "politely," as "Chronicler" stresses? What was it

that caused the unrest of which "Chronicler" prefers to speak in hushed tones of a lack of moral stability, and which was disastrous to the plans of the organizers of the intervention.

The author evades the issue and confines himself to vivid sketches of the mental anguish and material hardships suffered by U.S. servicemen in that cast-away spot of the globe where they went through torture and misery, where all hope faded and the heart turned to ice, and of the torment of participating in the lottery of death, in which the life of each was the stake. It was just these reasons, stripped of all political and social motives, that were advanced by the "big press" of the United States in their day to explain the unrest among the U.S. interventionist forces.

On April 12, 1919, the *New York Sun*, for example, editorialized on the mutiny of U.S. forces in Arkhangelsk (the firm refusal of the 309th Regiment to shoot at the Bolsheviks, mention of which "Chronicler" studiously evades) to the effect that the mutiny should not be taken seriously and that it was not a mutiny against discipline and Americanism. It was a manifestation against the stupidity of officers who put the soldiers in unbearable conditions.

Almost all bourgeois historians support this point of view to this day. As for the military command of the interventionist countries, it was cut to the quick by the reproaches and charges hurled at it by the press, and, what was worse, by the ruling spheres, and blamed everything on "ill-intentioned and malign Bolshevik propaganda."

Yet, in fact, whatever happened in the interventionist armies in northern Russia, in the South and in the Far East, was a striking demonstration of solidarity between the soldiers of various nations and the working people who had taken power into their own hands for the first time—a people risen to fight for freedom and happiness under the banner of socialism.

It was not the *New York Sun* but the London *Workers' Dreadnought* that made the right appraisal of the situation in its issue of January 18, 1919. It wrote:

"Neither British nor French soldiers can be roused to enthusiasm in the cause of crushing a working peoples' Socialist Government in Russia."

The nature of the disorders and uprisings in the interventionist armed forces is ample evidence of this, and it is further confirmed by the spreading of the unrest to the armed forces of the interventionist countries stationed far away from Russia.

Here are a few facts:

In January 1919 an uprising broke out among the ratings of a squadron scheduled to leave Port Rosyth for the Baltic Sea. The crew of the flagship *Queen Elizabeth* declined to fight against the working people of the Soviet Republic.

In February 1919 the garrison in Blackpill objected to being shipped to Arkhangelsk and demanded the evacuation of all British troops from Soviet Russia.

In Victoria, Canada, some 7,000 soldiers held a mass gathering in the spring of 1919. Their resolution stated that the "Bolsheviks are the hope of the world."

More than eighty per cent of the men to be shipped to Siberia from Ontario, Canada, refused to go.

In July 1919 the crews of three British warships in the Baltic Sea mutinied because they did not want to bear arms against Soviet Russia.

Late in August 1919 three hundred soldiers were arrested in Southampton for refusing to fight against Soviet Russia.

The recruiting campaign of the U.S. War Department in the summer of 1919 for 8,000 volunteers to serve with the U.S. armed forces in Siberia, which had the clamorous support of the American press, ended 7,986 men short of its goal. Only 14 signed up. At the same time the enrollment of volunteers wishing to go to the Soviet Republic and join the Red Army, started by the League of Socialist Propaganda, yielded hundreds of recruits in the first few days and the authorities took hasty steps to squash it.

Thus, it was not a matter of unbearable conditions

in the Russia of that day. The same thing occurred thousands of miles away from Russian snow and Russian bullets. The grounds for interventionist complaints about "Bolshevik propaganda" are far more substantial. Yes, the Russian Communists did conduct propaganda in the ranks of the enemy. They conducted it persistently, systematically and selflessly. But the imperialists, in their turn, did their best to uphold the morale of their soldiers.

"Chronicler's" recollections reveal that the interventionists stopped at nothing in their efforts to fan the hatred of their soldiers against the Red Army and the Soviet people. General Ironside's professional propagandists succeeded in convincing many soldiers that Bolshevik "barbarians killed" their prisoners after subjecting them to "cruel torture."

"Chronicler" recalls painfully that early in the campaign Frenchmen operating on the railway front* killed those of their comrades who could not leave the field of battle, thinking that they would be cruelly tortured if they fell into the hands of the enemy. And this was sincerely believed, despite the fact that in Ust-Padenga the wounded were picked up scarcely a hundred paces away from Bolshevik machine-guns, and in Tulgas, after a bloody encounter, the adversary "mysteriously" ceased fire when a first-aid unit was crossing open terrain.

Interventionist slander and lies pursuing practical, carefully weighed ends, blended organically with hyperbolical hypocrisy and refined bigotry, which were also superbly timed. "Chronicler" writes that after lofty and high-sounding words were said of foreigners having to save Russia, they set fire to the houses of the muzhiks and drove women and children on to the icy blanket of the fields. No wonder, he testifies, that proclamations in which headquarters tried to explain the purpose of the expedition irritated the soldiers much more than the prolonged silences that succeeded them.

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* A section of the front so called by the interventionists because it had a railway junction.—*Ed.*

The Russian Communists countered the slander and hypocrisy of the imperialists with truth alone. They concealed nothing and varnished nothing.

Here, for example, is what the appeals circulated among the interventionist troops on the Northern Front said:

"...Do you realize that the main reason why the Anglo-American bankers sent you to fight against us was that we had the courage to refuse to pay the war debts, the blood debts incurred by the ignominiously overthrown tsarism?

"...You soldiers fight on the side of the exploiters against us, the workers of Russia. All talk that the intervention is to save Russia, really means that the capitalists of your countries are trying to take away from us what we took away from their friends, the capitalists here in Russia. Don't you realize that this is the same struggle that you carry on in Britain and in America against the ruling class? You raise your rifles and aim your cannon to shoot at us and thereby play the despicable part of slaves. Comrades, don't do it!

"...You are being deceived when told that you are fighting for your country. The capitalist class has put guns into your hands. Stop using them against workers and turn them against the oppressors."

Bolshevik propaganda appealed to the soldiers' common sense and sense of honour, to the sense of class solidarity innate in all working people. It appealed to their best feelings. It roused the man in those who were being turned into soulless puppets in military uniform. It was this that the distinguished organizers of the multinational invasion of Soviet Russia feared and hated about it.

The storm raging at home also had a considerable influence on the interventionist armies. "Chronicler" speaks with marked irritation about home newspapers reaching the American soldiers, which contained speeches lauding Bolshevism as a heroic cause benefiting mankind. The thoughts of the working people of Britain and France also reached the British and French soldiers in Russia, either in letters or in newspapers, and naturally provoked a stormy reaction.

This was how it happened that the imperialists had to withdraw their troops hastily from Soviet Russia, and that Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, was compelled on November 8, 1919, to state sadly that "Russia is a dangerous country for intervention."

He was not the first to arrive at this uncontestable conclusion—nor the last.

* * *

The victory scored by the Soviet people when they compelled the interventionists to withdraw their forces was, as V. I. Lenin pointed out on December 5, 1919, at the Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets, "the greatest victory we have gained over the Entente. We have deprived it of its soldiers. We replied to its immense military and technical superiority by depriving it of this superiority, thanks to the solidarity of the toilers against the imperialist governments."

This great solidarity of the working people in the face of imperialist governments came to the surface with renewed vigour in the grim days when the Polish aggressors, backed by the major imperialist powers which persecuted the Soviets with their hatred and venom ever since the Soviets were born, attacked the Soviet Republic.

"NOT A PENNY, NOT A RIFLE FOR THE WAR AGAINST THE SOVIETS!"

(From English newspapers in 1920)

May Day 1920 coincided with the first reports of the Polish offensive against Soviet Russia. More than eight million British workers came out into the streets that day. "It was a holiday, and there were high holiday spirits," the *Daily Herald* reported on May 3, 1920, "but no one forgot its serious purpose. At hundreds of meetings denunciations of capitalism were cheered by hundreds of thousands of people. The sense of the resolutions

passed everywhere was: 'Peace with Russia! Down with capitalism!'"

In London many thousands marched past the Polish Legation, shouting: "Long live the Soviet Republic!" and "Peace with Russia!" There were strikes and manifestations in Manchester, Cardiff, Derby, Birmingham, Liverpool, Glasgow and many other cities. (*The Call*, May 6, 1920.)

On May 10, 1920, after the papers reported the capture of Kiev by the interventionists, the dockers at the East India Dock in London refused to load the S.S. *Jolly George*, in whose holds they discovered arms for Poland. Longshoremen ceased coaling the freighter.

On May 12 the press stated that there was enough freight in the ship's holds to make the voyage worth while, and that the coal supply would suffice to Danzig. In any case, the report concluded, the ship had sails and would be able under all circumstances to weigh anchor as scheduled on May 13. The report was designed, no doubt, to discourage the dockers. But they persisted in their refusal to load and coal the vessel.

Nobody handled the vessel, the *Workers' Dreadnought* said on May 15, 1920. The longshoremen decided to dump the coal from the bunkers so that the ship would not load arms in another port.

A dockers' conference in Plymouth acclaimed the London longshoremen and stated in its resolution: "Not a penny, not a rifle for the war against the Soviets."

The papers reported that the dockers kept a close watch on contraband and that they would firmly resist any attempt to export military equipment.

On May 21, 1920, the Executive Committee of the Railwaymen's Union expressed its support of the dockers and called on its members to decline shipping war materials for the interventionists fighting against Soviet Russia. Its resolution instructed its members "to refuse to handle any material which is intended to assist Poland against the Russian people." (*Daily Herald*, May 22, 1920.) Some time later the railway workers refused to send off a trainload of arms for the interventionists.

On August 4, 1920, the British Government sent what was generally described as an "ultimatum" to the Soviet Government. On August 10 it was announced that the "navy had received preliminary orders." (*New Statesman*, August 21, 1920.)

But the reply of the working class was firm: "There will be no war against Soviet Russia."

On August 7 the Executive of the British Communist Party issued a manifesto containing the proletariat's demands:

"1. Immediate withdrawal to home waters of all British warships in the Baltic and the Black Sea;

"2. Immediate withdrawal of all British troops in Poland, without exception;

"3. Public repudiation by the government of any support of Poland;

"4. Immediate arrangement of a general peace conference;

"5. A Central Labour Council to supervise the execution of the above demands." (*Daily Herald*, August 8, 1920.)

Manifestations in support of Soviet Russia swept the British Isles.

A report from Glasgow said that over 10,000 people attended a demonstration when "resolutions protesting against intervention and pledging the workers to oppose all attempts at militarist aggression were carried with acclamation." (*Daily Herald*, August 9, 1920.)

At an unprecedentedly big meeting in Nottingham the workers declared that they were "prepared to stop the railways, mines, shipping, and all the industrial life of the nation" if Britain went against the Soviets. (*Daily News*, August 9, 1920.)

"The South Wales Council of the National Union of Railwaymen, representing 27,000 members, yesterday passed a resolution declaring emphatically that peace should be made with Russia, and that if not obtained, the whole matter should be referred to the people." (*Daily News*, August 9, 1920.)

Representatives of the Ex-Service-Men's Union stat-

ed: "If the government really wanted another war they could get it, but it would be Labour against Capitalism to end the latter."

The Women's Cooperative Guild declared on behalf of the 44,000 working-class wives and mothers: "We are not prepared to assist in crushing the workers of Russia in their efforts to keep the freedom they have won." (*Daily News*, August 9, 1920.)

"Everybody is so concerned over Soviet Russia's fate," William Powell, a participant of the movement, relates, "that the workers on night shift cease work to take part in midnight demonstrations." At numerous meetings workers resolved to cease all production and shipment of war materials for Poland. The resolutions demanded the arrest and trial of Churchill as the principal warmonger.

On August 9, 1920, a joint conference of the Trades Union Congress, the National Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party passed the following resolution:

"That this joint conference, representing the Trades Union Congress, the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party, feels certain that war is being engineered between the Allied Powers and Soviet Russia ... and declares that such a war would be an intolerable crime against humanity; it therefore warns the government that the whole industrial power of the organized workers will be used to defeat this war." The conference instructs "the Executive Committees of affiliated organizations throughout the country be summoned to hold themselves ready to proceed immediately to London for a National Conference. That they be advised to instruct their members to 'down tools' on instructions from that National Conference. And that a Council of Action be immediately constituted to take such steps as may be necessary to carry the above decisions into effect." (*Daily Herald*, August 10, 1920.)

Next day a delegation of the newly formed Central Council of Action called on Prime Minister Lloyd George and informed him of the decision. The delegation said that if a direct war would be waged against Russia by

supporting Poland, or an indirect war by assisting Wrangel, this would mean that a match had been put to the powder-keg, the results of which could not be foreseen.

"The ultimatum to the government should be," the Glasgow branch of the British Seafarers' Union wrote to Lloyd George: "Peace abroad or war at home." (*Daily Herald*, August 11, 1920.)

On August 14, 1920, *The Times* of London wrote in an editorial: "The leaders of the British labour movement are fully aware that no sane man in this country desired war with Russia."

The head of the British Government, Lloyd George, beat a hasty retreat, informing the Pilsudski Government that "His Majesty's Government cannot undertake action against Russia."

But the British working class did not lessen its vigilance. Besides the London Council of Action, up to 350 local action councils were set up in the country in October 1920, and these headed the mass movement in defence of Soviet Russia from imperialist aggression.

THE MISSION OF MARCEL CACHIN

Marcel Cachin, a prominent leader of the French Socialist Party, was among the first in the French labour movement to see the greatness of the October Socialist Revolution and the tremendous impact it would have on the destinies of mankind. "Radiance of the Russian Revolution" was the title he gave his article in *L'Humanité*, of February 5, 1918, in which he spoke of the impelling force of the ideas triumphant in the October Revolution.

He branded the war against Soviet Russia in the press and at countless meetings and conferences. He demanded an end to the intervention. He urged the return of French soldiers and sailors from Russia. He devoted all his remarkable gift of orator and publicist to the defence of the first working people's republic from its rabid and im-

placable enemies, the enemies of the working people of all nations.

In August 1920 Marcel Cachin, then director of *L'Humanité*, and Frossard, Secretary-General of the Socialist Party who later deflected to the anti-socialist camp, were sent to Moscow by the Socialist Party to see the New Russia with their own eyes. They were to acquaint themselves with the Soviet Constitution and legislation, the work of the Soviets and trade unions, and the sentiments of the people, etc.

In Soviet Russia the French socialist emissaries had a splendid reception. They were given every facility to pursue their mission, visited undertakings, institutions, spoke to workers and peasants, and travelled extensively, visiting Nizhny-Novgorod, Kazan, Simbirsk, Samara, Saratov, Tula, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and many other towns and cities.

"We have seen the major industrial centres," they wrote on returning to France. "There is everywhere the impression of order, of resuming work, of recovering economy to the extent allowed by the blockade and war.... We are filled with admiration for the working class which succeeded in establishing a socialist republic in such an extensive territory." (*L'Humanité*, July 15, 1920.)

"We have been to a country which exists without a bourgeoisie, without capitalist exploitation," they related. "The class of working people is there the sole master of authority, economics, politics and administration. New forms of social life are taking shape before our very eyes.... Sufficient progress has been made to serve as an example and lesson to other proletarians in the world." (*L'Humanité*, July 21, 1920.)

Besides joint articles by the two delegates, *L'Humanité* published dozens of vivid pieces by Marcel Cachin. These appeared almost daily in the course of two months, bringing to France the hot breath of a new society of the highest type—of the great state of the working people rising to life in difficult struggle.

On July 6, 1920, when Cachin visited Samara, the local military authorities invited him to see off volunteers

leaving that day for the Polish front. Cachin saw, as he later described, 1,400 soldiers lined up on the pier in grey uniforms with red stars on their caps and in wretched bast shoes which would not endure the very first march. It was evident that the army suffered numerous hardships, but the men were cheerful, young, strong, their eyes shone with faith in victory, and it was manifest that all of them were imbued with revolutionary enthusiasm.

"The first proletarian government managed at once to form along entirely new lines a military organization which is imbued with socialist consciousness and is the largest at the present time.... These are not the soldiers of Nicolas II, subject to the discipline of the stick. These are citizens of a great country which has crushed the exploiters and wants to be free. They are defending their newly established socialist homeland to their last drop of blood.... They make sacrifices with an absolute faith that these sacrifices are necessary...." (*L'Humanité*, August 13, 1920.)

In one of his articles Cachin proudly observed that "Soviet Russia is the only country in the world with a special ministry to care for the health of the people." He told his readers about the Soviet agrarian policy and about the cooperative societies, about the October Revolution and the liberation of formerly oppressed peoples, about the state of religion in the R.S.F.S.R., about the people's tribunals, about the Party and the trade unions, and about the art of the Soviet people. He used facts to expose the unmitigated slander of enemies.

The bourgeois press claimed noisily that Cachin and Frossard had returned "under a hypnotic spell," that they were "incapable of a sober analysis," and that this was the reason why they represented Soviet Russia as a paradise. Marcel Cachin retaliated with a pamphlet titled *Le Paradis*. He wrote that he was only giving its due to the gigantic task performed by the people of Moscow, and that it was his duty to defend the Soviets from numerous groundless charges. Naturally, he wrote, one can scarcely say that at present the Soviet country is already a paradise, but "in the six weeks of our stay in Russia we saw

enthusiasm in the face of tremendous hardships, and a single conscious discipline in labour and struggle."

"In the great duel of the classes unfolding before our eyes, you, the bourgeois," he went on, "are trying to turn into hell a nation which was the first to have the courage to oppose you." (*L'Humanité*, September 6, 1920.)

The delegates who had visited Moscow wrote in special issues of *L'Humanité*, devoted to Soviet Russia, and spoke at numerous meetings. On August 13, addressing a mass gathering in the Paris circus, Marcel Cachin stated that he, an old Socialist, was happy to have seen what he had dreamt of for thirty years. He told his audience what difficulties the Russians faced and how bravely they surmounted them in the name of their freedom and bright future. Later he wrote about this meeting: "Never has there been in this big Paris such a stirring, such a cordial gathering of the French people, who for many hours expressed their admiration for the October Socialist Revolution, of which we brought the freshest and happiest news."

Marcel Cachin demanded in *L'Humanité* that the French Government inform the people how many billions it had spent on the intervention in Soviet Russia. For eighteen months the French Government supported Kolchak, subsidized Denikin from November 1918 to July 1920, and, moreover, backed Yudenich and Wrangel. Cachin asked for the price of the "inglorious Black Sea campaign of the French squadron and the Franco-Greek invasion army which occupied the Odessa region for 5-6 months." He also wanted the French people to know how much was spent on bourgeois Poland's intervention in Soviet Russia. "The country must know of the billions spent in trying to crush the Russian Revolution. It is entitled to know." (*L'Humanité*, December 9, 1920.)

Marcel Cachin called tirelessly on the workers and peasants of France to rise in the battle for peace together with Soviet Russia. In Tours, acclaimed by delegates of a Socialist Party Congress, he declared: "One of the means of blocking the warmongers is to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Russian Revolution, the sole citadel in the

world today, against international imperialism." (*L'Humanité*, October 28, 1920.)

After his return Marcel Cachin toured all France between August 15 and December 25, 1920, to tell the working people what he had seen in Russia.

In the course of four months, speaking every day at several gatherings, including the remotest villages, he inspired the masses with his enthusiasm, Jean Fréville wrote later about Marcel Cachin's noble mission. Everywhere crowds of workers responded to his call. A wave of enthusiasm rolled across the entire country, sweeping away all vacillation, prejudice and bigotry.

Baited by reactionaries, hunted by the police, Marcel Cachin was the bearer of the truth about the Soviet state. And his fiery speeches have multiplied the number of Soviet Russia's friends, and inspired the working people of France to struggle for their rights and in defence of the Soviets.

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE

Pravda reported on January 17, 1920: "The dockers and sailors of Rochefort and Lapalisse have refused to load war materials for the Russian Whiteguards."

Besides demanding satisfaction of their vital material needs, French railwaymen and the dockers, seamen and miners who joined them in the general strike which began on May 1, 1920, urged a stop to assistance to interventionists who attacked Soviet Russia, and an end to anti-Soviet policy. Over a million workers went on strike. Tens of thousands of rifles, machine-guns, artillery, and ammunition destined for the interventionists were not moved for months.

Romain Rolland, the distinguished French writer, protested angrily against the attack on Soviet Russia. In the summer of 1920 he wrote that he was delighted with the courage, the organizing and creative energy of the Russians, who are headed by leaders of genius. In the

words of Rolland, the brain of the world proletariat is in Moscow.

On July 21, 1920, *Pravda* published a letter received from a French worker. It ended with the following words: "Russian brothers! We know that the efforts we made, the help we rendered you in your grim struggle, have been insufficient, because they did not prevent our bourgeoisie from sending the Polish imperialist magnates against you. But the best French workers have come to realize that the cause of the Russian Revolution is their own cause, and defend it with all their strength."

The people of France were indignant over the Millerand Government's provocative recognition of Wrangel as the "lawful governor of Russia." Mass meetings of protest swept the country on August 15 and 16 to condemn assistance to Whiteguards and interventionists, and to defend Soviet Russia.

The series of gatherings and meetings of protest against the anti-Soviet war, which took place throughout Alsace-Lorraine, culminated in a powerful demonstration in Strasbourg in the middle of August 1920.

The speakers called unanimously for a general strike in the event of a new mobilization. The decision of the French miners and seamen, read by Longuet, to combat the counter-revolutionary intrigues of the French Government and "upset the sinister bloc of the Entente directed against the European proletariat" was hailed with thunderous applause.

The outstanding French publicist, Paul Vaillant-Couturier, concluded his speech by saying that the French would defend Russia, the only socialist country, to the bitter end. His words were met with great enthusiasm.

A mass gathering in Paris that same day was no less of a success. Marcel Cachin and other speakers called on the workers to combat with all means at their disposal the government's assistance to the interventionists against Soviet Russia.

"The Russian Revolution," one of the speakers declared, "has fought for us. Now you must fight for the Russian

Revolution. Demand peace and recognition of Soviet Russia!"

The mass anti-war demonstration in Gentilly in support of Soviet Russia was dispersed by the police. Many were wounded and many arrested.

On August 25, 1920, *Pravda* published the following telegram: "It is reported from London that French metal-workers and miners have resolved to call a general strike the moment the government undertakes any military operations against Russia."

THE GERMAN STUMBLING-BLOCK

The German working class joined the struggle against the anti-Soviet intervention of 1920. It blocked shipments of arms to the interventionists and thwarted the anti-Soviet plans of Prussian reaction.

Early in June 1920 railway workers in Ludwigshafen refused to dispatch eight carloads of war materials to the interventionists and appealed to the rest of the workers in their city to follow their example. "We do not want to be accomplices to the crimes of capitalism," they declared.

In their wake workers in Mannheim refused to reload several cars of war equipment en route from France to the East. They were suspicious of the cars' destination. "We don't want to help the enemies of the Soviets," they replied to the administration, which tried to cajole them.

Germany's proletariat made a gallant stand against the enemies of the world's first working people's state. Theirs was a veritable flood tide of sympathy for the fighting Soviet people.

Die Rote Fahne * wrote at the time:

"Every shot fired at the Red Army is a shot fired at the heart of the German proletariat. We must counter the solidarity of the imperialists in their stand against Soviet Russia with our own solidarity."

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* Central organ of the German Communist Party.—*Ed.*

That is just what happened.

On July 28 Spandau railwaymen stopped a transport of arms and equipment addressed to the interventionists. The authorities of Saxony reported to the central government that as a result of "arbitrary interference by railwaymen" they could not guarantee the safety of transit shipments of arms and troops. Similar reports soon came from other regions as well.

Blocking war deliveries to the East the railwaymen were frequently resisted by escorting guards, but won out every time.

Early in August 1920 the Erfurt railwaymen stopped a train with a company of French soldiers and a sealed car guarded by a British escort. The railwaymen's control committee put the train into a siding. The French officer in command ordered his company to arrest the engine-driver and the stokers. The indignant railwaymen demanded that the French immediately put their arms back into the car. "Otherwise," they firmly declared, "not a single man in this echelon will escape with his life." The officer was forced to comply.

The workers set up control posts on almost all railways to prevent shipments of arms and soldiers from getting through to the enemies of Soviet Russia.

The Simons-Fehrenbach Government, which had officially announced Germany's "neutrality" in the interventionists' war against Soviet Russia, tried to manoeuvre into a bargaining position in order to sell this "neutrality" to the Entente at the highest possible price. Furthermore, it prepared for an open move against Soviet Russia. It organized armed Whiteguard units in East Prussia where it deployed Reichswehr detachments and war equipment. Reactionary groups of the German bourgeoisie, represented by Ludendorff, openly offered the Entente their services. They promised to put in the field an anti-Soviet army of 1,500,000 men if given the "Danzig corridor," Upper Silesia and ... "preferential rights" in exploiting Russia.

But the political situation in Germany itself was so tense and the working class so dangerously roused that

they did not venture to go through with their plans.

The German proletariat's struggle against the anti-Soviet war reached a peak in August. The workers' control posts, which now included industrial workers besides railwaymen, inspected every suspicious freight train.

On July 21 the railwaymen stopped 15 cars loaded with arms at a station of the Berlin circular railway, and 14 cases of war equipment at Silesian Station for counter-revolutionary gangs in East Prussia. At the same time Stettin Station railwaymen stopped a munitions train of 28 cars en route to Königsberg. Early in August military echelons were also stopped in Berlin, Anhalt, Chemnitz, Stuttgart, Karlsruhe and many other cities.

General Groener, Minister of Communications, published an order on August 28 forbidding workers' control over freight shipments under threat of immediate dismissal and trial. But the order only served to stimulate the movement.

During the Entente's offensive against the young Soviet Republic in the summer of 1920, the workers of Magdeburg prevented arms from being sent to the front from the Wolff Works.

On September 4 Erfurt railway workers stopped and searched the so-called "Polish train," in which they discovered 30 tons of war materials. The freight was unloaded and blown up.

Sealed cars were unsealed in Marburg. The arms found in them were destroyed.

And the same from day to day.

The sentiments of the German proletariat in those days were aptly described by Clara Zetkin, outstanding leader of the international labour movement. Speaking in the Reichstag in July 1920, she declared: "We express our especial fraternal gratitude to and admiration of socialist Soviet Russia, which is struggling against the whole world and building a new life in the face of tremendous difficulties. We pledge ourselves to preserve inviolable unity with the heroic Russian proletariat in the fight for

our common aims. In the struggle to implement the ideas of socialism, the Russian proletariat, led by the courageous Bolshevik Party, is marching in the van of the workers of the whole world, indicating the path and setting an inspiring example."

The Entente was compelled to choose roundabout routes for its shipments to Poland—via Vienna, Prague, and Trieste. But Austrian, Czech, Italian and Yugoslav workers there instantly joined the struggle.

The German proletariat largely succeeded in sapping Entente military assistance to Poland at a decisive moment, and also prevented the German reactionaries from joining in the attack on Soviet Russia.

"OUR HONOUR IS NOT FOR SALE"

In the summer of 1920, the S.S. *Triton* steamed into Danzig, as Gdansk was known at the time, with a cargo of arms for Pilsudski's interventionist army. The dockers, many Poles among them, flatly refused to discharge the vessel. They declared that they would not help the enemies of Soviet Russia, that they were against all wars, and particularly the war against the republic of working people.

The Pilsudski authorities decided to use strikebreakers for the job but the port workers threatened to cease all work in the harbour if this was done.

Then the British occupation troops in Danzig hastened to Pilsudski's aid. Tommies were sent to unload the *Triton*, but most of them followed the dockers' example. The cargo remained in the ship's holds, and many soldiers were arrested. Martial law was proclaimed in the port city.

To break the will of the workers Pilsudski cut off the city's food supplies, and several days later announced that every worker who helped to discharge the arms would get a daily 160 marks and six kilos of flour. Furthermore, he promised to distribute 10,000 marks and ten carloads of wheat flour after the cargo was fully unloaded.

"Our honour is not for sale," the dockers, backed by most of the city's population, replied. The railwaymen stopped all freights destined for Poland.

In August not a single freighter or goods train left Danzig for the interventionists. When in mid-August Pilsudski's men tried to smuggle out an airplane, the workers destroyed it.

The *Triton* left Danzig with the cargo still in its holds.

UNREST IN PILSUDSKI'S REAR

(From news reports)

Many thousands of workers came to the mass meeting on Bank Square, Warsaw, on May 1, 1920. Dozens of streamers carried to the square through the city streets bore the slogan: "Long live Soviet Russia!" The speakers reaffirmed their sympathy for the cause of the Soviet people attacked by Pilsudski's troops.

Word came from the Southern Front early in May that units of the 9th Polish Infantry Division fraternized with Red Army men, and that units of the 4th Infantry Regiment in Kovel and of the 35th Regiment revolted.

In mid-May an All-Polish Trade Union Congress adopted a resolution insisting on "cessation of hostilities and conclusion of peace."

On May 14 in Krakow, and subsequently in Lodz, Konstantynów and many other towns and cities, wholesale searches and arrests were made on charges of "inciting soldiers leaving for the front."

According to the Polish press, one single day in June 1920, 1,200 arrested deserters were brought to Krakow. The Polish command made desertion punishable by death. Deserters were shot in batches, often publicly.

In July 1920 a leaflet, titled "The Soldiers' Reply to Pilsudski," was circulated among the Warsaw garrison. The leaflet said: "The hour nears, and will soon come, when we, the soldiers, together with the workers of the towns and villages, will turn our power against you,

against your officers, against all the capitalists and nobles of Poland. Then the criminal war will end. The predatory government of Poland will end. Your shameful part in it will end." The leaflet bore slogans acclaiming the Red Army.

A group of deserters was publicly shot in the town of Biała Podlaska. At a military conference in Warsaw the generals noted with concern that the recruits were "corrupted by propaganda," and that the "danger may even compel us (the command—*Ed.*) to intervene militarily inside the country."

On September 8, 1920, twenty thousand peasants held a meeting in Tarnobrzeg. The authorities forbade the gathering and sent two infantry battalions to enforce the ban. But the officers, aware of the mood of the peasants and of their own soldiers, hesitated to use force.

The meeting adopted a resolution to the effect that "the people demand immediate peace with Soviet Russia and want peaceful coexistence and cooperation with the proletariat liberated from the bourgeois yoke."

SOLIDARITY STRIKES IN ITALY

(From Italian newspapers of 1920)

Mass May Day demonstrations, which coincided with the Polish invasion of Russia, swept all Italy. In Rome, Milan, Naples, Venice, Florence, Bologna, Padua, Genoa, Lodi, Forli, Varese and other cities manifestations were held under the slogans: "Long live Socialism!", "Long live Soviet Russia!" In Turin, Pola and San Severo the police provoked bloody clashes with the marchers. (*Avanti*, May 4, 1920.)

On May 15 a trainload of war materials pulled into the Brescia Station under escort of French and Rumanian soldiers. Although the shipment was officially destined for Bucharest, the railwaymen prevented its onward passage, suspecting that it was destined to be used against the Soviet people. Two workers were arrested, but the

remainder stood firm on their decision. They countered the repressions with a sit-down strike, which led to stoppage of all railway traffic.

The administration had no choice but to meet the workers' demands. The railwaymen resumed work only after the train was safely put up in a siding, and sent off passenger trains with shouts of "Long live Lenin!" (*Avanti*, May 18, 1920.)

Several days later railway workers at the Luino Station stopped seven carloads of ammunition destined for Warsaw. (*Avanti*, May 20, 1920.)

They made the following inscriptions on the cars: "War Materials. Not To Be Dispatched," and put them up in a siding.

Seamen ceased work if they suspected that there were war materials for Polish Whiteguards in the holds of their ship. Longshoremen followed their example. Metal-workers joined the seamen and railwaymen who on May 21, 1920, announced their decision to boycott shipments of war materials destined to all countries hostile to Soviet Russia. (*Lo Stato Operaio*, II, 1937, p. 137.)

Cremona railwaymen struck on June 9 in protest to the dispatch by an assistant station-master of a munitions train to the interventionists. Within 48 hours the strike spread to the entire province, and then the whole country, developing into a formidable demonstration of solidarity with the Soviet Republic.

The strike lasted 18 days, in spite of having broken out spontaneously and not being headed by either the General Confederation of Labour or the Socialist Party. On June 22 a spokesman of the Railwaymen's Union declared that railway workers would stand by their decision to block passage of war materials for Poland "at any price," (*Avanti*, June 9-30, 1920.)

The government tried to crush the strike with force. It carried out wholesale arrests. There was bloodshed as the troops attacked the strikers. But the strike went on, and the government had to resign.

The new government complied with the demands of

the strikers to dismiss the assistant station-master of Cremona and promised to apply no sanctions against the strikers. This brought the strike to an end on June 27.

On August 16, 1920, the crew of the trans-Atlantic liner *Calabria* refused to set out to sea on learning that a large party of Polish reservists heading for Poland was on board the vessel.

In early September the Seamen's Federation held up the Russian ship *Rodos* which steamed into Genoa from Constantinople under the tsarist flag. Genoa seamen resolved to turn the vessel over to the Soviet Government. (*Avanti*, September 11, 1920.)

ON BEHALF OF YUGOSLAVIA'S WORKING PEOPLE

(Editorial in the *Workers' Gazette*, organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia (Communists), on October 21, 1920)

The Government of Serbia, Croatia and Slavonia has joined the inglorious cause of world reactionaries and imperialists on the borders of revolutionary Russia. It has fitted out battalions of Serbian soldiers to fight against the Russian Soviet Republic and help the repulsive cause of the reactionaries to restore tsarism in Russia. It continues ceaselessly to finance these troops and a month ago sent a special military mission to Arkhangelsk with instructions and help for these troops.

Our people, who have been for ages enslaved by foreign capitalist magnates, do not approve, and condemn, the attack on the fraternal Russian people, who are also fighting for freedom and self-determination. Yugoslavia's working class notes with disgust that the government of our country is doing to the Russian people what the capitalists and imperialists, the helpers and allies of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns, did to the Yugoslav people. It notes with profound reproof that the "Social-Democratic" ministers, branded for ever now as traitors of

socialism, are taking part in this reactionary undertaking of the bourgeoisie.

On behalf of the working class and the working peasant masses of Yugoslavia we demand from our rulers:

Immediately to recall all our troops from the Russian border;

To cease all assistance to international reaction in crushing the Russian Republic of Soviets and to refuse to participate in the blockade and hunger policy.

The proletariat of Yugoslavia expresses its sympathies to the Russian proletariat and says:

Don't flinch! The proletariat of the entire world is with you! The proletariat of Yugoslavia is with you!

RUNNING THE BLOCKADE

On May 11, 1920, Petrograd was first visited by a delegation of British trade-unionists and Labourites—one of the few delegations of foreign working people to break through the blockade. At a meeting of delegation members and trade-union and factory committee representatives speeches were made by Ben Turner, representative of the Labour Party and head of the delegation, and Clifford Allen, of the Independent British Labour Party.

"BRITISH WORKERS ARE PREPARED TO FIGHT HAND IN HAND WITH YOU"

(From Ben Turner's speech)

"Honourable comrades and chairman, I bring you the heartiest greetings of our British workers. I want to thank you for your hospitality, which we encountered in free Russia the moment we crossed the border. All my colleagues are delighted by the free spirit and cordiality of free Russia.

"We have been sent here by the British Trades Unions, which have in their organizations more than 6,250,000 workers. Perhaps not all of them are sufficiently con-

scious, but all of them are prepared to render whole-hearted support to your struggle for freedom, although not a single one of them has undergone the hardships that Russia has undergone. All of them without exception sympathize with the efforts of the Russian workers to liberate themselves from imperialism and from its interference in Russian life....

"We want you to know that the British workers are prepared to fight hand in hand with you against capitalism, for the liberation of Russia. Our workers and the entire country feel strongly against interference in Russian affairs. The British working class will do its best to influence its government not to interfere; we don't want to fight on the side of the capitalists who are plundering Russia!

"You have proclaimed a new life, you have been showing new ambitions, and we hope to follow each of your useful examples when we return to our country. We sympathize whole-heartedly with your ideas directed against capitalism. We stand firmly against intervention; we are convinced that war is a madness, and for this reason the imperialists who preach war must be destroyed by the proletariat of the whole world.

"Until now the earth has been a paradise for the rich and a hell for the poor. Capitalism is endless butchery, endless economic oppression. We are against war! Peace is the salvation of the workers! We and you equally want peace, a peace that would provide all the essentials to the working class—food, clothes, shoes, etc. You have suffered much distress and misfortune, you have been martyrs in the past, you suffered in Siberia, and, no doubt, will still suffer no little in the struggle for freedom. We have firmly resolved to cease all interference in the Russian Revolution! That is why we join, hail and repeat the words of the preceding speaker:

"'Long live the great fraternal alliance of Russian and British workers!'"

"WE HAVE COME AS PUPILS, NOT AS JUDGES OR CRITICS"

(From Clifford Allen's speech)

"Comrades, I feel terribly embarrassed and at the same time very happy that I, still a young man, have the great honour to be deputed to hail Russia on behalf of the British labour movement. But I express the deep conviction that the triumph of the socialist and communist movement depends entirely on the youth....

"You are most likely tired of all kinds of commissions and delegations sent to explore your ability to join the civilized nations. In the meantime, it is known to us that the inveterately mendacious capitalist League of Nations intends to send a commission to you to determine whether you are sufficiently cultured again to join Western Europe. It is desirable that you too would at last send a delegation to capitalist Britain to acquaint yourselves with the living conditions of the British workers and to see at the same time how Britain rules India, Egypt and Ireland. (*Stormy applause.*)

"The main reason for our coming is the wish to find out how we can help you. We, on our part, want to do everything that can possibly be done to help you in your struggle for freedom. We have seen poverty, hunger and ruin in your streets, and we are ashamed that we come from a country that causes so much distress and suffering to Soviet Russia. We have been informed that at the present moment our government in the person of Lord Curzon is again making an attempt to invade your country. If on our return he will carry on this or similar attempts, we shall use all our power to put an end to it, and we shall go much farther than before in our efforts to influence him. I am convinced that we shall succeed in rousing the British workers' masses not only to adopt a resolution, but to act if words will fail to make the British Government terminate the intervention.

"We have come here for yet another reason. We have come as pupils, not as judges or critics. Why? The Bri-

tish workers are becoming stronger and stronger. The professional movement is growing and is improving organizationally, but we all feel that we have not as yet found the way that would bring happiness to the working class. In Britain Lloyd George is fighting labour, calling on all classes to join hands against socialism. Labour has accepted the challenge, declaring itself an independent party. The British workers have repeatedly tried to increase their wages and improve living conditions, but the capitalists are bringing all improvements down to nil by raising prices. So we have come to the country of the Revolution and are asking you whether you have found the way that would lead to the happiness of all working people. We shall be happy to learn from you. We are not as yet familiar with your system and ask you to acquaint us with it.

"You have sacrificed much for your ideals, you have hungered and suffered in the fight for freedom. We need a share of your idealism. There is something new in your movement that we would like to take home with us. We would like to see the happiness of working people in our lifetime and ask you to help the proletarian movement of all the world in winning freedom and joy for all working people. You have lived by this and have fought and died for this. So give us a share of your courage. The workers of Britain hail you, wish you success and are ready to help you.

"Long live the Russian Communist Party!

"Long live the Revolutionary Soviet Russia!"

Chapter Five

FROM ASHES AND RUIN

Soon after his visit to Soviet Russia in the autumn of 1920, at the close of the intervention and the Civil War, H. G. Wells, the English novelist, published a book entitled *Russia in the Shadows*. He was stunned by the ruin and devastation. With a touch of sorrow he wrote that Russia would probably cease to exist as a civilized country, that her towns would be abandoned, that there would be nobody except muzhiks, and that sand would bury her railways, which would rust in total idleness.

These were about the colours with which in those days leading reactionary politicians of the West, the ill-starred organizers of the intervention and the Civil War, painted the future of the Soviet state. They were sure that the rule of the Soviets, which had weathered the storms of war, would sink beneath the burden of incredible war-engendered difficulties, that it would never surmount the economic chaos. Excitedly counting the "last days" of Soviet rule, they naturally went on sparing no effort to hasten its long-awaited downfall and, short of direct armed intervention, continued to play foul and place obstacles wherever they could.

In those days the position of the young republic of workers and peasants was indeed desperate. By the winter of 1920-21, the gross output of Soviet industry amounted to something like 14 per cent of the pre-war level, and agricultural production slid down to 55 per cent. Hun-

dreds of towns and villages, through which the blaze of war had rolled, were in ruins. According to the lowest estimates, the material losses inflicted by the intervention and the blockade ran to over 39,000 million rubles. Of course, nothing could compensate for the loss of seven million Soviet lives through the fault of those whom the country's natural wealth and the freedom won by the working people made restless.

Nevertheless, this was the very time when Lenin proclaimed his brilliant programme for the country's electrification, for the fundamental technical re-equipment of its industry and agriculture. That happened at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets. In the cold, dim hall, where the congress sat in December 1920, Lenin spoke of the day when "Russia will be covered by a dense network of electric power stations and powerful technical installations," when "our communist economic development will become a model for a future socialist Europe and Asia." The working people believed this and strove towards it.

When, at last, it became possible to return to peaceful labour, the Soviet people once again, as in the years of battle, translated into reality what detached onlookers thought was inconceivable and impossible. Towards the close of 1925, the national economy was, in the main, restored. Rehabilitating what was destroyed by the war and accumulating strength and means, the Soviet people obtained the possibility of entering a new historical stage along the road outlined by Lenin, the stage of socialist industrialization.

The successful completion of the period of rehabilitation (1921-25) was ensured by the inspired labour and courageous self-denial of the broadest masses of the people and by the clear-sighted and flexible policy of the Communist Party.

In the stern years of the tense struggle against ruin and famine, the Soviet people tangibly felt the fraternal sympathy of the working people of foreign countries. At that time the solidarity of the working class and of all progressive elements the world over with the people

who were building socialism found practical expression both in the domestic life of the U.S.S.R. and on the international scene. That facilitated the peaceful, constructive work in the Soviet Union.

SWEDISH RAILWAYMEN AT PEROVO STATION

An unusual delegation arrived in Petrograd from Sweden in the spring of 1920, when world imperialism was still fighting the Soviet Republic, this time with the hands of Pilsudski and Wrangel. The workers who made up the delegation were not just well-meaning observers but people eager to give the Soviet people real help in rehabilitating and promoting their devastated national economy.

The Swedish authorities were terrified and outraged when they learned the purpose of the delegation's planned trip to Russia. They refused to issue passports to the delegates and, moreover, reprimanded them, resorting freely to anti-Soviet slander. Taking note of the refusal and ignoring the slander, the delegates set out illegally across Norway.

They arrived in Petrograd on May 12. There were 21 delegates in the group, railwaymen all. They were representative of numerous fellow-workers, who were likewise in deep sympathy with the Soviet people and ready to help them as best they could in building a new life.

At a reception given at the Palace of Labour, Landström, who headed the delegation, said on behalf of his countrymen:

"There are many more workers in Scandinavia who wish to help their Russian brothers with their work.... The important thing is not what we will say but what and how we will do."

The Petrograd workers who had come to meet the Swedes greeted Landström's statement with stormy applause.

At the invitation of the Engineering Department of the People's Commissariat for Railways the Swedish railwaymen took jobs at Perovo Station, in the vicinity

of Moscow. Shortly afterwards they participated in a *subbotnik* on the Moscow-Rybinsk Railway, that is, along with Soviet workers carried out an assignment without pay after the day's work.

The Perovo railwaymen were glad to have their Swedish friends with them. A general meeting, held on May 27, 1920, adopted the following resolution:

"We railwaymen of Perovo Station greet with all our hearts our Swedish comrades and through them the whole working class of Sweden which is the first to have responded to the call of the Russian workers' revolution and has not only extended a brotherly hand to us but has that hand working with us in Russia to rehabilitate our economy. It is with brotherly love that we admit our Swedish comrades into our workers' family, and we shall do all to help them both materially and morally.

"Long live the working class of Sweden!

"Long live world-wide brotherhood of the working people."

Newspapers carried many reports on the Swedish friends of the Soviet people. *Petrogradskaya Pravda,* for example, wrote on June 5, 1920, under the heading "Swedish Workers Lend a Hand":

"Recently a group of Swedish workers took employment in the Perovo railway workshops, near Moscow.... It is worthy of note that, in view of their great proficiency, the Swedish workers were offered high wages, but they declined, saying that they wanted to be on an equal footing with the Russian workers as far as pay was concerned."

Janson, one of the Swedish railwaymen, said to a *Gudok* correspondent:

"We had a chance to learn, and indeed had realized all along, that the only country which is advancing with sure step to socialism is Soviet Russia. Of course, we also knew that life in Soviet Russia is still very hard, but that, so far from discouraging us, added to our resolve to go to Russia and help our Russian comrades."

That fraternal proletarian aid bore good fruit.

"GIFT TO THE RUSSIAN WORKERS FROM THE WORKERS OF AMERICA"

In the spring of 1922, a team of tractor-drivers, organized by the Society of Friends of Soviet Russia (in America), arrived in the Soviet Union from the United States.

The team had 22 tractors with spare parts. All the machines bore the inscription: "Gift to the Russian workers from the workers of America."

Headed by Harold Ware, a teacher at an agricultural college, the team included farmers Charles Huck, Joseph Broker, George Ivorson, Otto Anstron, Siborn Erickson, Mickey Meling, mechanic John Schellonborger, agronomist Mrs. Ware, and physician Gudash.

All the expenses connected with the organization and the work of the tractor team were paid out of funds collected among the working people of the United States by the Society of Friends of Soviet Russia. Altogether, the society collected nearly two million dollars for material and industrial aid to the Soviet people.

In spite of the difficult conditions in which this tractor team had to work, it scored substantial successes. On November 9, 1922, on Lenin's proposal, the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee adopted a decision to recognize the Toikino State Farm, where this tractor team worked, as a model farm.

Below we publish an article by Harold Ware printed in *Pravda*, and the letter Lenin subsequently wrote to the Society of Friends of Soviet Russia.

AMERICAN TRACTOR TEAM

The lesson given by the work of the team in Perm Gubernia will inspire American farmers. Russian peasants, who saw the team at work, are enthusiastically telling everybody about it. Young peasants and Red Army men adapted themselves to the tractors the fastest. In spite of the short supplies and the distance from the railway, the team cultivated 1,500 desyatins.

The American tractor team in Perm is only a drop in the huge ocean of Russia. Nevertheless, it deserves attention because it showed that the bigger projects of the American tractor teams can be carried out.

Most people judge experiments by their quantitative results; from that point of view our experiment may seem unhappy: what are a thousand desyatins of ploughed-up land to Russia? For people who are interested in the conditions of our work, in our experiences and in the results of this small but first experiment, we have a few things to tell. I say "we," because every new day and new obstacle strengthened the spirit of creative initiative in our boys, who had worked in capitalist America only recently. They saw how their fathers and mothers used the same up-to-date machines and methods and at the same time they saw how the bankers and other robbers enslaved workers, swallowing up the fruits of their labour, their income, their life. Here in Russia they see that ability is the only yardstick by which people are measured. They intend to take this inspiring lesson back to the farmers of America.

The peasants of Russia and the farmers of America were mutually surprised when they first met in Perm Gubernia: they dreamed of our modern tractors, while we were amazed at their primitive tools. First, they had to be shown, and we began to show them. We are proud that we had the opportunity of showing thousands, and many more people in our district heard about it from those who saw the tractors at work, that tractors are in-

deed machines which work better, easier and faster than horses.

The next step was to plough up the land collectively, in the teeth of proprietary prejudices. We should like to tell about this too. Calls for assistance began to come in from all parts of the gubernia. The villages suggested utilizing the land collectively, urgent need breaking down their prejudices....

Barbers, tailors, teachers, students, mechanics and peasants were sent to us to be taught. Not only was their experience different, but their psychology was also dissimilar: some regarded work on a tractor as a stepping-stone; others protested against being sent only for what they called "mechanical" work. The young peasants from the neighbourhood and Red Army men proved to be best fitted for the work. They understood that in agriculture the working day is determined by the time of the year, the harvest and the weather. They had already learned the basic lessons, which others still had to learn in practice. And once the peasant learns to drive a tractor he will never again be satisfied with his horses. He becomes the centre of propaganda among his fellow-villagers for larger farms, and that means—collective farms.

For people interested in technical details, I have given a report of our work.

On July 1, we arrived in Vereshchagino, Perm Gubernia. Despite our protests, we were assigned to the Toikino State Farm, 48 miles from the railway. The roads were typical of the Russian countryside; the bridges were not strong enough for our tractors and had to be rebuilt. The fact that that was done quickly clearly shows the interest and the success of the work of the peasants and of their communist organization throughout the gubernia.

The land of the state farm had been neglected for a number of years. There were ravines, mounds, gullies and even Kolchak trenches. Taken together, all that made deep and rapid ploughing impossible. In addition, large sections of the fields were hilly; we had not expected that.

The prime necessities for the Russian workers did not arrive on time and what they needed most were beds and

clothes. In spite of all the difficulties, their interest in the work did not abate and they disclosed to the American boys the secret of their success during the Revolution. As one American put it, "they're swell."

Despite all kinds of obstacles and not having a common language, we achieved real spiritual unity in our camp.

The tractors were unloaded on July 10. We waited five days for the fuel, organizing meetings in Vereshchagino in the meantime. We left Vereshchagino on July 15. On the way, we organized a meeting at Okhansk. There were about 1,200 people at that meeting. They represented over 30 villages. We arrived in the state farm on July 17. One plough was ready on July 19. On that day we ploughed up the first furrow on Russian soil with it. We only had a few days' supply of fuel for seven tractors. On August 3, we were brought fuel that was enough for only one shift, and we had planned our work in two shifts. On August 8, we arranged an exhibition in the state farm: 500 peasants came to see the machines in operation. We filled in ravines, ploughed, and harrowed, and drove the seeders with the help of the tractors.

In addition to the village where we ploughed up 150 desyatins, we ploughed up, harrowed and sowed 900 desyatins for winter rye at the state farm. The work of the tractors is continuing. I think that by this time they have cultivated approximately 500 desyatins for spring crops.

We lost quite a few days during the summer because of a shortage of clothes, shoes and because of other conditions. There was enough fuel but we had a hard time transporting it over those 48 miles. Altogether, we lost 28 and a half days.

This is a short report and it must be regarded only as a listing of facts. At the same time, mention must be made of the comrades in Perm Gubernia, who worked there day and night to overcome all difficulties. This particularly concerns the communist organization in Okhansk. We were welcomed wherever we went, our work attracted general interest and was possible only because of everybody's assistance.

For all our work we used up 41.5 tons of fuel. From our reports it may be seen that a desyatin can be cultivated (ploughed up, harrowed and sown) in five and a half hours with 32 kilograms of fuel. Most of the fuel we used was low-quality benzine. Under experienced mechanics petrol may also be used as fuel. Our new drivers were inexperienced and we had quite a time teaching them.

In conclusion, I must appeal to my comrades in America. We came to teach but we learned more ourselves. We know that Russia has enough strength and patience to cope with all the tasks and difficulties embraced by the single word "rehabilitation." And our American labour organizations, which want to help Russia restore her agriculture, must be better informed about Russian conditions and requirements. They must pay less attention to sympathy alone and insist more on the technical qualifications of the comrades they intend to send and, lastly, they must not send anyone unless requested, in other words, they must work in close cooperation with Russian trusts.

HAROLD WARE

TO THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA (IN AMERICA)

"October 20, 1922

"Dear Comrades,

"By special inquiry at the Perm Gubernia Executive Committee, I have only just verified the extraordinarily favourable reports published in our newspapers regarding the work of members of your society headed by Harold Ware with the tractor team of Perm Gubernia at the Toikino State Farm.

"In spite of the tremendous difficulties, particularly in view of the extreme remoteness of the place of work and also in view of the devastation wrought by Kolchak during the Civil War, you have achieved successes which must be recognized as truly exceptional.

"I hasten to express my profound gratitude with the request to publish this letter in the organ of your soci-

ety and, if possible, in the general press of the North American United States.

"I am applying to the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to have this state farm acknowledged as exemplary and to render it special and extraordinary assistance both as regards building work and the supply of benzine, metal and other materials necessary for the organization of a repair workshop.

"Once again, in behalf of our republic, I express my deep gratitude and ask you to remember that no other form of aid is as timely and important as the aid you have given us.

"Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars
"LENIN"

CONTRIBUTION FROM GERMAN WORKERS

In May 1922, German workers organized a collection of tools for Soviet Russia. Many thousands of workers worked overtime, on Saturday evenings and on Sundays, in order to make tools and machines as a gift to the Soviet people, who were rehabilitating their country's economy in the harsh conditions of post-war ruin.

In the course of a few days, 18 million marks' worth of tools were collected and sent off.

P. Klapper, of Jena, a veteran of the workers' movement in Germany, recalls:

"At my proposal, the production council of the Schitrumpf AG measuring instruments factory in Jena, of which I was a member and, subsequently, the chairman, adopted a decision to work on Ascension Day in 1922 and to buy various instruments from our firm for Soviet Russia on the money earned. We called a meeting of workers and employees to discuss our decision. There were 500 people and not a single arm was raised in dissent.

"But the management was indignant. It announced that our decision had not been properly considered, that the workers had been deluded and that in general this

whole business should not have been started. So the production council called another general meeting in the factory yard—during working hours this time.

"And again everybody unanimously supported our proposal, firmly saying, 'That is exactly what we'll do.'

"The administration hesitated to start a conflict, and retreated.

"On Ascension Day the factory worked. And all the money that was earned by the workers and employees went for the purchase of instruments for our Russian comrades."

IMMIGRANT COMMUNES

(From archival documents)

These slightly yellowed, close-typed pages of foolscap are the memorandum to the Council of Labour and Defence of the U.S.S.R. * from its Permanent Commission for Agricultural and Industrial Immigration. In this document, the commission, which was set up in the autumn of 1922, gives a summary of the work of groups of foreign working people in the Soviet Union as of August 1, 1924.

By that time, 2,067 people had immigrated to the Soviet Union to work in agriculture and industry. They came from many countries, including the U.S.A., Canada, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Turkey. Most of them were drawn to the Soviet Republic by a desire to help it in its difficult task of post-war rehabilitation, to contribute their labour towards the great cause of building the first socialist society.

The majority of the immigrants came in groups with their own tools, which were, according to the memorandum, worth 1,836,650 rubles.

Here is what the commission reported to the Council of Labour and Defence of the U.S.S.R.:

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* One of the supreme organs of state administration in the U.S.S.R. It functioned until the approval of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R., which was adopted in 1936.—*Ed.*

"... 3. *Summary of the Work of the Existing Communes.* At the present time there are 17 immigrant agricultural communes, chiefly in the Ukraine and in the south-eastern regions of the Russian Federation, and one industrial group in the town of Orenburg. Some of the industrial groups have merged with the Kuzbas organization and the RASTA building group in Leningrad.

"The agricultural communes leased 21,015 desyatins of land; the industrial group signed a contract for the use of a machine works.

"By 1924, the agricultural communes ploughed up 10, 401 desyatins of the leased land and sowed 8,119 desyatins.

Livestock

	The communes took over:	What they have to date:
Horses	64 head	334 head
Cattle	79 "	459 "
Sheep	166 "	722 "
Pigs	113 "	1,147 "
Poultry	62 "	2,467 "

"Altogether, the communes took over 14,502 rubles' worth of livestock. At present their livestock is valued at 141,230 rubles.

"4. *Cultural and Exhibitory Importance of the Immigrant Communes.* In addition to the evident success of the immigrant communes in ploughing, sowing, building and livestock breeding and purchase, their importance for the surrounding population as model-exhibition farms is unquestionable. In spite of the comparatively short time since they were set up, they already have achievements in this field. Thus, with the course of time, almost everywhere the surrounding peasantry, who had been sceptical of the communes from the very beginning, have fundamentally changed their views in the face of the successes that have been scored by the communes and their friendliness towards the peasants, and are beginning to take a keen interest in their high farming and better, mechanized methods of cultivating land. They are

asking for advice and assistance and are beginning to adopt many things and introduce them at their own farms.

"As has been pointed out above, the immigrant communes brought with them a large amount of up-to-date cultivating and harvesting machines. They brought 48 powerful tractors of the Case, Fordson, International and other systems. All the communes do most of their ploughing, sowing and harvesting with the help of tractors.

"The very fact that there are such big mechanized farms which employ improved methods of work, their activity, which is seen by the surrounding population, and the results of their work in themselves are strongly influencing peasants who are interested in the new undertakings of the members of the communes.

"The advantages of tractor ploughing and improved land cultivation are particularly striking in the present poor crop regions, where, with the exception of the satisfactory harvest at the communes, the peasants have been overtaken by the calamity of crop failure. As an illustration, we offer a small comparative table of the harvest reaped by the communes and by the local population:

a. Lenin Commune (Kirsanov District, Tambov Gubernia)

Crop	Harvest per desyatin in poods			Remarks
	Commune	Local population	Difference	
Rye	54.5	33.3	21.2	Data for the communes have been given by the communes themselves and certified by local agricultural organs; Data for the local population have been taken from the Central Statistical Board.
Winter wheat	57	29.5	27.5	
Oats	41.6	16.9	24.7	
Millet	66.6	4.8	61.8	
Average (for four crops)	54.9	21.1	33.8	

b. Sower Commune (Salsk District, Don Region)

Crop	Harvest per desyatin in poods			Remarks
	Commune	Local population	Difference	
Rye	53	4.1	48.9	
Winter wheat	92.5	4.7	87.8	
Spring wheat	40	4.6	35.4	
Barley	15	7.7	7.3	
Average (for four crops)	50.1	5.3	44.8	

"c. The California Commune moved from Salsk District to a new sector in the 1st Don Region last autumn. The land it received from the former lessee was partly ploughed up and sown. The crop on it was very poor, but the crop on the land cultivated by the commune was: rye—125 poods, and spring wheat—60 poods per desyatin (the local population grew: rye—20.4 poods, and wheat—20.6 poods per desyatin).

"The above difference in the harvests vividly shows the surrounding population the advantages held out by machine cultivation and by improved methods of farming.

"The immigrant communes do not limit themselves to this exhibitory aspect, but make every effort to spread their knowledge and methods and to render direct assistance to peasants who need it. This became evident already from the reports for last year at the All-Union Conference of Immigrant Communes convened by the Commission of the Council of Labour and Defence in Kharkov in March of this year. The immigrant communes are organizing evening schools, circles, lectures and talks on general educational, political and, particularly, agricultural problems; they give exhibitions of ploughing on peasant holdings with the corresponding explanations.

"As an example of the success of the communes and their beneficial influence on the peasantry, we may point to the broad striving of the surrounding peasants to merge all their property with the functioning immigrant communes.

The communes have accepted as members 521 persons from the poorest peasant population. This number would have been much higher if the communes had not been compelled temporarily to turn down many applications in view of the shortage of housing. Once there is more housing, which almost everywhere the members of the communes found in the most pitiful state, this picture will change greatly.

"Almost all the communes have organized auxiliary enterprises: flour-mills, smithies, and carpenters' and other workshops which serve the surrounding population on advantageous terms, often free of charge.

"The exemplary communes, which have every opportunity of becoming model farms are: Lenin Commune (Kirsanov District, Tambov Gubernia), which settled down precisely in a hungry time and helped the peasants by handing out seeds and by ploughing up their fields; Sower Commune (Salsk District, Don Region), which, according to the representative of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture in the South-East, is a model farm which uses machines on a tremendous scale, and, from the model aspect, is infinitely valuable not only for the South-East but also for the entire Union; the Corn-Grower Commune (Yekaterinoslav Gubernia) and the Migayevo Commune (Odessa Gubernia), which have scored remarkable achievements and are running model farms.

"If the above-said is weighed and account is taken of the conditions of work in agriculture, where certain success may be counted on only after a few years of dogged effort, we must state that the immigrant communes can work in our conditions and will, by their work, undoubtedly help to restore our agriculture.

"5. *Immigrant Commune Conferences.* To sum up the work of the communes and to bring out the experience which they have accumulated, the Commission of the Council of Labour and Defence convened a conference of their representatives in Kharkov in March 1924. The reports confirmed that the economic position of the communes is undoubtedly growing stronger and that they are gradually building up a sound foundation. The assist-

ance they render the local peasantry and the influence they exert on them were also shown. On its part, the conference approved this activity and recommended that the communes should regard the dissemination of their knowledge and what assistance they can give the surrounding population as one of their major tasks.

"The conference solved a number of practical problems and discussed measures by the government which would promote the undertakings of the communes. Attention was drawn to the necessity of including the immigrant communes in the general network of collective farms, and to the necessity of providing them with agronomical and other forms of assistance, particularly with credits, because they had spent most of their money on the agricultural implements they brought with them, on the construction of buildings and on livestock, and are at present in need of small sums of working capital.

"6. *Assistance Given to the Immigrant Groups by the Soviet Government.* At the same time that it drew immigrant groups to the U.S.S.R., the Commission of the Council of Labour and Defence outlined and carried out a number of measures aimed at rendering the arriving groups all the aid it could. The basic measures are as follows:

"1) Freeing the freight brought by the immigrants from abroad from customs duties and fees, and transporting it to the destination at favourable resettlement rates (1/80 of a kopek per pood per verst);

"2) Freeing the immigrant communes from taxes in the course of the first one to five years after they had settled down, depending on the character and natural conditions of the place of settlement (this was annulled by decision of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. on November 12, 1923);

"3) Supplying the immigrant communes with oil products for the tractor cultivation of land, without excise, on credit (the cost of cultivating a hectare of land—five operations—was reduced from 7 rubles 50 kopeks to an average of 5 rubles);

"4) Providing the immigrant communes with cash credits."

"INTERHELPO" OR MUTUAL AID

(How the Czechoslovak commune was set up and developed in Kirghizia)

Rudolf Mareček was sitting upright in an armchair, his resolutely clenched fists resting on the sides. With this uprightness, this youthful stubbornness in every tensed muscle—youthful in spite of the grey hair and the wrinkles with which a hard life had lined his lean face—and this tautness of a man ready at any moment to defend the cause he believes in, he reminded me of Nesterov's famous portrait of Academician Pavlov.

Mareček gave us a searching look with his merry blue eyes and, with a note of urgency in his voice, asked:

"When are you coming to Przhevalsk? Come soon! In Frunze you'll see our factories, and I'll take you to the Tien Shans. Well, when will you come to me in Kirghizia?"

Rudolf is a Czech. You can still feel the soft, melodious Czech accent in his pronunciation. And yet this "to me in Kirghizia" sounded quite natural on his lips.

I first heard of Rudolf Mareček from Julius Fučik back in the thirties. With that special lyrical eagerness of his, he told us of the people and factories of the Czechoslovak producers' commune, which was known as Interhelpo and was situated at the foot of the Tien Shans, about the Reflector, a Czechoslovak agricultural commune which thrived on the Volga near Saratov, and, in connection with them, about Rudolf Mareček, the organizer of the aid of the toilers of capitalist Czechoslovakia to the young Soviet Republic at the beginning of the twenties.

Fučik spoke of the difficult but magnificent life of these people with joy and it was not without a shade of envy that he added, "If only I could do the same!"

And, indeed, one felt the same way about it....

Many years have passed since then, but here was Rudolf Mareček speaking about himself and his friends as though it had all happened only yesterday and he was ready to relive his life from the beginning without changing

anything, including the difficulties and the tragedies, without which unfortunately no purposeful life is lived.

He was amazingly young-looking and vigorous for his 60 years. To this day he is known throughout Kirghizia as a dauntless conqueror of mountain peaks. As recently as a few years ago he led groups of Soviet and Czech mountain-climbers to three peaks in the Tien Shans, naming them after Gottwald, Zápotocký and Fučik, in honour of the fraternal friendship between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia. That is not surprising for fraternity between peoples is his element! It was this element that had preserved his youth—at least, that is what he believes. He does not feel old at all and was even now inviting his friends to the mountains, to the alpine meadows, to the snow-bound summits of Kirghizia. He knows that country well for he had fought for Soviet rule there back in 1918.

The story of how this remarkable and charming man, this vivacious Czech working man came to Russia and found a home among people who staunchly defended and created the world's first society where social justice is the basic law, could be used to write a fascinating book. I shall begin my tale with the days in 1921, when Rudolf Mareček returned to Czechoslovakia from Russia.

That was a time when Bohemia and Slovakia, which had been liberated from Austrian suzerainty, united to form the young Republic of Czechoslovakia. But the old order remained.

Bourgeois Czechoslovakia gave Marcček a stern reception. This man, who had participated in the Russian Revolution and fought for Soviet rule, could not find employment for a long time. His family was compelled to live in a ramshackle house for the poor, and even his father dared not shelter him and his family.

In the meantime, Mareček spoke at meetings, telling his audiences about the workers of Russia who were building a new life in spite of famine, devastation and poverty. The police threatened him, demanding that he stop speaking.

"I neither could nor wanted to keep quiet. And I had the support of the workers, the party..." he said to me, recalling those days, and his sternly clenched fists seemed to tighten even more.

Some time later, his private life adjusted itself more or less. He found employment. His skill as a worker was valued everywhere. But he could find no peace of mind. His thoughts kept returning to distant Soviet Russia, a country he had come to love. He wanted to help her as much as he could. But how and with what?...

At the very close of 1922, Lenin's letter to W. Münzenberg, head of the International Workers' Relief, was published. It said:

"This happily started economic assistance of the International Workers' Relief for Soviet Russia should get the over-all support of workers and working people the world over. Parallel with the continuing strong political pressure on the governments of bourgeois countries to recognize the Soviet Government, wide economic assistance of the world proletariat is at the moment the best and most practical means of supporting Soviet Russia in her bitter economic war against the imperialist concerns and the best means of supporting the cause of building socialist economy."

"I read this call of Lenin's in the magazine *International Review*—it was published in Esperanto—and decided that I had to do something," Mareček said. "You see the question of the existence of the first workers' state was a question of the future of the whole of mankind. Besides, far-away Kirghizia lived in my heart...."

On May 1, 1923, he spoke at a meeting of workers in Žilina. He spoke about Soviet Russia, about the difficulties her peoples were courageously fighting, and about the future towards which they were moving, and suggested organizing a producers' cooperative of skilled workers, collecting money, buying machines and asking the Soviet Government to allow Czechoslovak workers to help build socialism with their own hands.

"The workers were enthusiastic about this proposal," Mareček recalls. "We set up an organizing group and im-

mediately had volunteers. Skilled workers all, they were materially secure but decided to give up their homes and long-held jobs, spend their savings which had been earned by hard work and, without demanding anything for themselves, set out where the people building socialism needed them most. The leaders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Gottwald and Zápotocký, upheld our undertaking."

Mareček tirelessly travelled from town to town, spoke at workers' meetings, talked about Kirghizia, her beauty and her needs, and selected volunteers from various trades. Then he went to Moscow and from there to Kirghizia, where he concluded an agreement with the government and found out what was needed most. Then he returned home and together with the organizing group called together the first general meeting of members of the cooperative on November 9, 1924.

The members came from all parts of the country. They elected a board and adopted a set of rules. The members decided they would live in a commune, foster a socialist consciousness in themselves and develop socialist relations. The cooperative was named Interhelpo, which means mutual aid.

At this meeting it was conclusively decided that the cooperative would use the savings of its members to purchase equipment for a furniture, machine, broadcloth, brick, and tile factories. First they bought a frame-saw, a roller mill, a saw-mill and a lot of other equipment so that they could start working independently right away. Practical people, workers, they knew where to begin....

The commune prepared for the journey. The government and the gendarmerie hindered them in every way. The members of the commune were refused passports, aspersions were cast on Mareček, agent provocateurs were employed to spread panic in the commune. Then Mareček was arrested on the charge of violating the security law of the republic, but the charge could not be proved and the authorities were compelled to release him.

At last, on April 24, 1925, despite all the obstacles, the first 360 Czechoslovak workers—Czechs, Slovaks, Hun-

garians and Germans—arrived at the station of Pishpek II, Kirghizia, where a warm reception awaited them.

There was nothing but a bare steppe all around with the snow-covered peaks of the Tien Shans looming in the distance. Somewhere to the right stood a small town. It was called Pishpek (the present-day Frunze). Everything had to be begun from the beginning: the members of the commune unloaded the trains, dug wells, set up their equipment in the steppe and built, built....

These were extremely difficult years. The local population was very hospitable, but there was no housing, and at first the commune had to build mud huts for itself. There was not enough food and the members often fell ill. Those who in spite of warnings risked taking children with them had a very hard time. Some, there were very few of them, found the difficulties too much for them and returned home. In the meantime, skilled turners, mechanics and curriers began to build factories. Five months later, in September 1925, there already were a central workshop and a power station, which generated electricity not only for the cooperative's needs but also for the town. That was the first of the many enterprises that justified the name Mareček gave the commune.

The frame-saw and the brick and tile factories were put in operation beneath the open sky. The roofs were built later. Teams of carpenters and bricklayers headed by the Krajčevič and Šoš brothers, who were all skilled workers, toiled day and night building dwellings and workshops.

Reports about the commune were printed in newspapers in Czechoslovakia. The initiative of the members of the commune was valued by Communists, but it was odious to the bourgeoisie, for it showed that working people could become the masters of their own destinies. Saboteurs were sent into the commune and in May 1926 the central workshop, which had been built in the face of great hardships, was set on fire. It burned to the ground. But the members of the commune did not lose heart. Soviet organizations came to their assistance.

Soon four more trainloads of volunteers arrived. They brought additional equipment with them. Now there were over a thousand skilled workers. Construction work proceeded apace and a part was taken in it by local workers—Kirghiz, Russians and Ukrainians—who learned various trades while they worked.

The first factory whistle, announcing that the broadcloth factory had been launched at full capacity, sounded in the commune on May 1, 1927.

At that time the commune was headed by veteran workers Samuel, Švolik, Jandik, Kovačik, Vagner, Šoš and Krajčevič. Rudolf Mareček was the chief engineer. In strict sequence they adhered to all the terms of the agreement and rules. They built factories, houses, a school and a club, and they fashioned new relations between people. The cooperative was directed by a board elected by the workers and was in close touch with Kirghiz organs of state authority.

When in October 1935, ten years after Interhelpo was founded, I paid the cooperative a visit with Julius Fučik it was hard to imagine that this bustling, verdant industrial township had been built in such a short space of time. Together with Samuel, chairman of the commune, we strolled along the straight boulevard-like streets which were lined with little green cottages with verandahs and tiled roofs and luxuriant gardens, and every now and then saw lorries loaded with leather, tractor parts, textiles, window-frames, furniture and so forth drive out of the three- and four-storeyed factories.

Side by side with the Czechoslovak workers,the machines were being operated by Kirghiz, Russians and Ukrainians. Life at these factories was no different from other factories in the Soviet Union in the thirties: the socialist emulation and shock workers' movements started; people went to study and came back engineers; the wall newspapers ridiculed headstrong managers and idlers; the boards and factory trade-union committees discussed the fulfilment of the quarterly plans and the distribution of passes to holiday homes and sanatoriums.

Workers of many nationalities felt they were brothers here. Even the charming, jocular language used by the members of the commune, a language which quite naturally incorporated Czech, Hungarian, Slovak, Russian, Ukrainian and Kirghiz words, embodied this fraternity. But the chief thing, of course, was in the singleness of purpose of each and everyone.

The Interhelpo factories expanded. They entered the life of Kirghizia and became an organic part of it, helping radically to transform this territory, which under tsarism was backward and poverty-stricken. Many of the members of the commune received their education in Soviet institutes and universities and became shop superintendents and factory managers in various parts of the republic. Mareček, for example, after bringing another agricultural commune, the Reflector, into the country, became an irrigation engineer, built irrigation systems in Kirghizia and taught and trained young people.

The Kirghiz Republic, which had gained its feet by now, invested increasing sums of money into the Interhelpo enterprises, replacing machines and enlarging the shops. The commune settlement reached right up to the town of Frunze, forming its industrial district. It had a machine factory, a foundry, a tannery, an engine-repair works, a furniture combine, an agricultural machine-building plant, a broadcloth mill, a saw-mill and a tailoring establishment. In order to facilitate the management of these industries, Interhelpo handed it over to the state. The Interhelpo enterprises subsequently served as a basis for the foundation of a number of big factories—agricultural machine-building, engine-repair, leather, textile and others.

The Czechoslovak working men, who came to Kirghizia with the noble desire of helping the young Soviet Republic in the difficult years, reaped the fruits of their labour to the full. They received material security and moral satisfaction and won universal respect. Their children went to Soviet schools and institutes. During the war, they defended their socialist country in the ranks of the Soviet Army and the Czechoslovak Corps. Many of them

helped to liberate Czechoslovakia and took with them their valuable experience of building socialism, the experience of the Interhelpo Commune, which Fučik called the "Academy of socialist construction."

In February 1957, the newspaper *Sovietskaya Kirghizia* wrote:

"The Czechoslovak workers who came to Kirghizia made a major contribution towards the development of this republic's national economy. Taking their services into account, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia decided *to perpetuate the memory of the Interhelpo producers' cooperative*.... The Frunze City Committee of the Communist Party and the City Executive Committee were commissioned to put up memorial plaques on all buildings that were erected by Czechoslovak workers in the town of Frunze..."

On April 18, 1957, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Kirghizia issued a decree stating that "in token of the great services of the former members of the Interhelpo producers' cooperative, which arrived in 1925 from Czechoslovakia, in organizing industrial enterprises and cultural establishments in the town of Frunze, many of them, who are working in enterprises in the capital of Kirghizia to this day, are awarded Letters of Honour of the Supreme Soviet."

Books are being written and reports and lectures delivered on the Interhelpo Commune and its services in helping to build socialist Kirghizia. The story of this commune forms a brilliant page in the history of socialist construction in Central Asia.

FRATERNAL AID TO A STARVING POPULATION

In 1921, the Soviet Republic, which had been laid waste by the intervention and the Civil War, was overtaken by yet another terrible disaster—the crop failed. The Volga area was left without bread. A drought killed the wheat in a considerable part of the Ukraine and in some

regions of the North Caucasus. The areas where fighting had raged suffered the most.

The Soviet Government did its utmost to help the starving population. Trains with food collected among the working people were sent to the famine areas. All material values were mobilized in order to purchase food abroad. But the young state of workers and peasants had very few material values....

Assistance came from the international proletariat. The working people of many countries collected large sums of money and the food bought with this money came very opportunely in the affected areas. The chronicle for those days contains facts like the following:

On July 29, 1921, the Berlin newspaper *Die Rote Fahne* published an appeal of the Central Committee of the United Comminist Party of Germany for assistance for the famine areas in Russia. The appeal of the Communists monthly to deduct a day's earnings for a famine relief fund had a warm response and was supported by broad masses of the working people.

In August 1921, through the votes of Deputies of three workers' parties, the municipal council of Nuremberg decided to allocate 50,000 marks from the city funds for famine relief.

By September 10, 1921, the famine relief fund of the workers of Czechoslovakia amounted to 125,000 Czech koruny. All trade unions were making deductions to help the famine areas in Russia.

On September 20, 1921, *Die Rote Fahne* reported that "the trade union of workers of the wood-working industry in Havelberg staged a concert and intended to use the proceeds to help ill and needy members of the union. However, the latter refused the money, saying that the starving population of the Volga area needed aid more, and the money was used for that purpose."

By the end of May 1922, the working people of Germany collected a total of 1,082,150 gold rubles for famine relief.

On November 26, 1922, the Belgrade newspaper *The Worker* reported:

"Acting on a decision of the plenary session, delegates of the National Committee for Russian Famine Relief bought 40 carloads of high-grade flour, two carloads of sugar, and two carloads of soap in Rumania, and 100 cases of tinned milk in Stambul and sent this to Odessa by a special ship. The same ship is carrying a delegate of the National Committee from Stambul to Odessa.

"The committee feels that in this way it will be doing what the donors want most, which is to help the famine areas as quickly as possible. The committee intends to prepare another lot of food and other necessities for Russia and is sure that it will again have the assistance of the people."

A major role in organizing international aid for the people of the famine areas was played by Fridtjof Nansen, famous Norwegian Arctic explorer, eminent scientist, public figure and high-minded man. In 1921, he toured the capitals of Western Europe, calling for help for the Soviet people in their fight against famine, and exposing the imperialists, who were obstructing this great public movement. In a speech delivered in those days, he said:

"We are not asking for fabulous sums. We are asking all the governments of Europe jointly to give five million pounds sterling. That is half the cost of a modern warship. But the governments are turning us down with professions of regret. They are debating this question day in and day out without any result....

"Therefore, we can count only on our own enterprise and on the readiness of individuals to come to our aid. However, there are obstacles even here. At every step we are dogged by the yellow press, which is spreading lies and trying to impede our work. We are meeting with resistance from influential Russian émigrés for whom the sufferings of their countrymen and the great privations that their motherland is experiencing mean much less than the struggle to overthrow the present government of Russia.

"Nevertheless, our enemies failed to stop us from organizing a great act of assistance."

Fraternal aid also came from the working people of Britain, France, the United States and many other countries, who took to heart the calamity that had overtaken the Soviet people and collected considerable sums of money with which to buy food.

STRUGGLE FOR TRADE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

A widespread form of solidarity of the working people of the capitalist countries with the Soviet people in the period of post-war rehabilitation was the mass movement for developing trade with Soviet Russia. Though the imperialists lifted the blockade, they continued to place all sorts of barriers in the way of trade with the Soviet state. Democratic public opinion was against these barriers.

In January 1921, Lenin received a letter from a leader of the American labour movement. Here it is (abridged):

"Dear Comrade Lenin:

"Under separate cover I am sending to you a collection of resolutions and other documents from the Labour Alliance for Trade with Russia. From these documents you will be able to get some concrete idea about the activities of this organization, which came into existence in the middle of November, 1920. But together with these documents I think it will be of great value to you if I give you some inner information regarding the work of the Labour Alliance for Trade with Russia.

"The Labour Alliance was organized through the initiative of a group of women friends of Soviet Russia, and about the 20th of November this small group of women influenced the radical labour leaders of the American Federation of Labour to participate in the work for establishing trade with Soviet Russia and for the lifting of the blockade. And a number of very influential labour leaders representing some of the biggest unions of the A. F. of L., became the leaders of the newly organized body.

"The formation of such an organization was not in accordance with the wishes and desires of Samuel Gompers* (who bitterly opposes Soviet Russia), and through his agents he immediately started to oppose the activities of the Labour Alliance. But the few leaders of the Labour Alliance continued their work and invited organized labour to participate in the activities of the organization. And it must be said that the results of their work have exceeded all expectations. Many big unions, especially from the Central States and from the Pacific Coast, joined immediately in the work of the Labour Alliance. The Chicago Federation of Labour, an organization representing over 400,000 organized workers belonging to the A. F. of L., immediately organized a branch of the American Labour Alliance for Trade with Russia. The same thing was done by the Minnesota Federation of Labour, and also the Seattle Labour Council.

"The work is now in the process of development, and I am almost sure that the Labour Alliance for Trade with Russia will be of great value to the Russian Soviet Republic. This organization is concentrating all the left elements in the American labour movement, thus building up one of the greatest oppositions to the Gompers clique that was ever known in the history of the American Federation of Labour.

"The field for the activities of the American Labour Alliance for Trade with Russia is very extensive. In view of the present crisis trade with Soviet Russia is particularly important to America. According to the official figures, there are over 2,300,000 unemployed in this country at present, but the actual number is greater than the official figures, and it grows from day to day. The Labour Alliance is making great use of these facts, and is continually explaining to the American workers that the problem of unemployment can greatly be solved if America would establish trade relations with Soviet

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* The then President of the A. F. of L., which is one of the large federations of trade unions in the United States of America.—*Ed.*

Russia and permit the Soviet Government to buy all the machinery and other commodities which Russia needs so badly, and which will amount to three billion dollars....

"The Labour Alliance for Trade with Soviet Russia is planning to call a national conference of all the labour organizations to participate in the activities of the organization, and it is planning to send a mission to Soviet Russia for the purpose of getting acquainted with the Russian situation and to report to the coming convention of the American Federation of Labour, which will be held in June, 1921...."

"BUT SOVIET RUSSIA HAS STILL NOT BEEN LEFT IN PEACE"

These words, spoken by Georgi Dimitrov, who was one of the outstanding leaders of the international labour movement, at a meeting of the proletariat of Sofia on March 12, 1922, eloquently describe the position of the Soviet state in the capitalist encirclement after the intervention and the Civil War.

By the close of 1920, all the interventionists, with the exception of the Japanese imperialists in the Far East, had been driven out of Soviet territory, the Civil War had on the whole ended, and the republic had bent all its efforts to heal the wounds caused by the war and rehabilitate the national economy. But the external enemies of the Soviet people had no intention of laying down their arms. All they did was somewhat to change the character of the struggle. Thousands of spies and wreckers were sent into the country; the threads of every major counter-revolutionary plot of those days invariably led to Paris, London or to countries bordering on Soviet Russia; numerous gangs of bandits armed with the latest weapons were smuggled across the borders; the country was flooded with counterfeit notes, made in the West; every now and then the imperialists started diplomatic offensives against the U.S.S.R., accompanying these offensives with acts of provocation.

Try as they did the imperialists failed to disrupt the Soviet Union's peaceful work of economic construction, but they put up no few obstacles and would have put up more had it not been for the resolute resistance of the working class and the progressive intelligentsia of the whole world, including Bulgaria.

Here is what Georgi Dimitrov said at the meeting of the proletariat of Sofia in defence of Soviet Russia against the patronage that Wrangel's troops found in Bulgaria:

"Comrades, for four years Kolchak, Denikin, and all the other hirelings of capital of the Entente felt the strength of the iron fist of the workers' and peasants' Red Army. Wrangel, who suffered an ignominious defeat, fled to Constantinople in ships of the Entente.

"But Soviet Russia has still not been left in peace! The capitalists, bankers, multi-millionaires of Europe and America are preparing another crusade against Russia. (*Cries of 'Down with them!'*) They cannot send their own peoples, who have declared unequivocally that they do not want to fight the Russian people! (*Cries of 'Bravo!' Applause.*) But they seek to spill the blood of small peoples, of the Balkan peoples, the Bulgarian people in particular. (*Cries of 'They won't be able to!'*)

"Comrades, Sofia has become the headquarters of the commander-in-chief of their army. Their tribunals are operating and sentencing people to death. That army has seized all the strategic points in Bulgaria. Disarmed Bulgaria is occupied, held in captivity by a foreign army of 20,000 men. (*Cries of 'Shame!'*) Our government is spending millions on this army. At a time when in the Volga country 20 million peasants are starving, Wrangel's headquarters is purchasing Bulgarian foodstuffs to carry on a war against the starving people in Russia. When the Liberation cooperative bought food to save the starving population, our bourgeois parties raised a disgusting howl. Then why are they now not protesting against the purchase of food by Wrangel? Because they are helping him. The populist bankers* and traders are exchanging embraces

* Leaders of the Populist Party, composed of representatives of the big bourgeoisie, landlords and bankers.—*Ed.*

with the Whiteguard generals and plotting with them against the Russian and Bulgarian peoples. They want to use Wrangel's army against Bulgarian Bolshevism as well. (*Cries of 'Shame!'*) They are plotting a coup d'état and aiming to proclaim a military dictatorship and draw the Bulgarian people into a war against their Russian brothers. (*Cries of 'Shame!'*) Comrades, you may be sure that this time too the Red Army will requite Wrangel according to his deserts. (*Cries of 'Quite right!'*) But in that event Bulgaria may be the theatre of military operations. So much the worse for those who start such a war. There is not a single Bulgarian worker or peasant who would shoot at a Russian worker or peasant! (*Cries of 'No!' Applause.*) He knows in what direction to aim his rifle in future! The Bulgarian Communist Party and the entire working people demand that the government immediately seize Wrangel by the ears and throw him out as a worthless rag! That his army be disarmed! That the Russian soldiers and Cossacks be sent back home to their motherland, which has forgiven them and is waiting for them to join in beneficial peaceful labour!

"The Bulgarian Government must carry out this demand of the working people! The Bulgarian Government lies when it declares that Wrangel's troops are not armed! (*Cries of 'Quite right!'*) At this very moment Wrangel is probably hiding in Sofia. (*Cries of 'Let him get out!' Applause.*) Down with the criminal adventures against the fraternal Russian people! Down with Bulgarian and Russian reaction! Long live the fraternal alliance between the Bulgarian and Russian working people! Long live the Great Russian Revolution and its heroic Red Army!" (*Cries of 'Long live!' Prolonged, stormy applause.*)

REPLY TO THE CURZON ULTIMATUM

On May 9, 1923, the Government of Great Britain sent the Soviet Government a note, known to history as the "Curzon * ultimatum." Drawn up in sharp and even rude

* Lord Curzon was Foreign Secretary in the Conservative Cabinet of Bonar Law.—*Ed.*

terms and full of groundless, absurd claims, this note put forward a number of deliberately unreal demands with the threat that in the event these demands were not fulfilled Great Britain would break off all relations with the Soviet Union. This primarily concerned the then newly-signed Anglo-Soviet trade agreement. The authors of the "Curzon ultimatum" made no particular secret of the fact that they intended it as a prelude for another intervention against the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet Government firmly rejected the importunity of the reactionary circles of Great Britain and, at the same time, showed its readiness to achieve a normal, peaceful settlement of all issues between the two countries. The "Curzon ultimatum" raised the indignation of the Soviet people. Protest demonstrations were held throughout the country. The people were resolved "staunchly to defend, without yielding an inch, the independence and vital interests of the republic of working people, the gains of the Revolution and the sacred cause of the working people of the whole world" (from the resolution of the extraordinary joint plenary session of the Moscow Soviet and members of the district Soviets).

"No, we shall not tolerate war against Soviet Russia!" was the vigorous and stern reply of the working class of the whole of Europe, primarily of England, to the "Curson ultimatum."

Here are a few facts from those days:

On May 12, *The Workers' Weekly* published a manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain addressed to British workers.

"The British Government," the manifesto stated, "is again leading the capitalist offensive against the workers' Republic of Russia....

"But the capitalist governments have never ceased their enmity or wavered in their intention to crush the workers... they are sending a provocative Note to Russia with a view to breaking off trade relations and setting the dogs of reaction loose in Europe to provoke war on Russia.

"Once we stopped war on Russia by a united movement in the Councils of Action. Once again the hour has come

to prevent war, for the closing down of the Russian Trade Delegation here is the first step to war. Once again we must act quickly. Get together and form the United Front in the Councils of Action. Give the call for an All-in Conference of the organizations of the working class. Get ready for action!

"Make Peace with Russia!

"Make the British Government unconditionally recognize Soviet Russia!

"Up with the Councils of Action!

"Down with war on the Workers' Republic!

"Workers, unite!"

At the same time, the Communists published a special leaflet in defence of the U.S.S.R. and distributed 100,000 copies.

Throughout Britain the months of May and June were marked by a wave of meetings and demonstrations during which resolutions were adopted censuring the "Curzon ultimatum" and protesting against the threat to break off Anglo-Soviet relations. Protest rallies were held in London, Newcastle, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Nottingham, Dundee, Bradford and other cities.

Councils of Action for the struggle in defence of the U.S.S.R. and for the recognition of the Soviet Government were set up in Liverpool, Nottingham, Dundee, Newcastle, East Ham and other British cities. These councils consisted of representatives of local workers' organizations.

On May 13, a huge rally was held in London's Trafalgar Square. The main slogans were "Down with war!" and "The Anglo-Soviet trade agreement must be preserved!" The resolution adopted at the rally demanded that the government withdraw the "Curzon ultimatum." The working people of London declared: "We demand the full recognition of the Soviet Republic!"

The same was demanded at other meetings, which, according to *The Workers' Weekly* "were held from Dundee to Plymouth, from north to south, from east to west."

On May 21, the annual cooperative congress in Edinburgh unanimously adopted a resolution insisting that

the government keep up and improve friendly relations with Soviet Russia. (*The Morning Post*, May 22, 1923.)

On May 24, 1923, the National Hands Off Soviet Russia Committee called on the British working people to give their unanimous support, intensify political agitation and, if necessary, take recourse to industrial action in order to make the government immediately and unconditionally ensure recognition of the Soviet Government.

The International Council of Action, set up in Frankfurt with the purpose of combating reaction, war and fascism, issued a special appeal to the British workers, calling upon them to frustrate the plans of war against the U.S.S.R.

"...We confidently appeal to all workers in Great Britain," the appeal stated, "to unite and fight against war and Fascism.

"Down with the war makers!

"Withdraw the ultimatum!

"Down with a new war!" (*The Workers' Weekly*, June 2, 1923.)

Shaman Lyal, Secretary of the Indian Congress of Trade Unions, wrote in an article for a newspaper: "The European capitalists are preparing another war against Soviet Russia. The Indian workers will never be allies of Curzon."

"If the political might of the workers' party will prove insufficient to prevent war with Russia," declared Marchbank, Chairman of the Railwaymen's Trade Union, "the party will have every right to use its industrial might, and I hope it will do so without hesitation, to compel the government to *withdraw* its ultimatum threat to Russia."

In May 1923, the Conservative *Morning Post* wrote that the interval granted to the Soviet Government before expiration of the ultimatum was used by the friends of the Bolsheviks in the workers' party to spread all sorts of rumours. It was impossible, the newspaper continued, to assume that Curzon could in all seriousness take account of the artificial agitation conducted by the workers' party in the interests of the Soviet Government.

Events showed that *The Morning Post* was no oracle: the Prime Minister Bonar Law resigned, pleading ill health, while Curzon beat a retreat, admitting in his new note of May 29, 1923, that the Soviet Government showed a "spirit of friendliness."

VOICE OF A FRIEND

In the most difficult time, when the young Soviet state was taking shape and developing, Anatole France was one of its faithful and active friends. At the ebb of his long life, this outstanding French philosopher and author came down upon the enemies of the Soviet people, the organizers of the intervention and blockade, with youthful ardour. His many addresses, full of respect, gratitude and hope, reached the Soviet people.

In 1922, shortly before the fifth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Anatole France wrote that the Soviet Republic was invincible and that it was the bearer of a new spirit.

The old world was not mistaken in its apprehensions. Its leaders immediately recognized their enemy. They slandered the Soviet Republic and moved their wealth and strength against it. They wanted to strangle it. They sent gangs of bandits against it.

The Soviet Republic, Anatole France said, closed its Red ranks and the bandits were crushed.

Anatole France emphasized that if there still were friends of justice in Europe, they must respectfully bow their heads to this republic, which after so many centuries had brought the world the first experiment of state power wielded by the people for the people. Born in privation and nurtured in the midst of famine and war, the Soviet power had not yet finished its colossal project and had not yet brought about a reign of justice. But at least it had laid the foundations, Anatole France added. It had sown seeds, which, if destiny was propitious, would sprout abundantly throughout Russia and, perhaps, would one day fecundate Europe.

IMMORTAL WORK OF JOE FINEBERG

Amongst the foreign friends of the Soviet people who came to work in the young Soviet Republic in the difficult years that followed the Civil War and intervention, was Joe Fineberg, an active member of the progressive working-class movement in Great Britain and a gifted translator.

Harry Pollitt, Chairman of the Communist Party of Great Britain, wrote in the *Daily Worker* of April 16, 1957, on the occasion of Joe Fineberg's death:

"The death in Moscow of Comrade Joe Fineberg is a great loss to the international working-class movement.

"I first met Joe at a conference of the British Socialist Party held in Blackpool in the years before the First World War. I had known of the splendid work he had done and was doing for the British Socialist Party in the Hackney district of London.

"Joe was one of the first comrades to return to the Soviet Union after the Revolution and did an enormous amount of work in translating the works of Comrade Lenin and other great leaders....

"He made this type of work his speciality and few of us had any works of the Soviet leaders which had not been translated by Joe Fineberg."

For 35 years he translated political literature and fiction from Russian into English. On his 70th birthday Joe Fineberg was awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour for his work.

Chapter Six

IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

In the two decades that passed between the close of the intervention and Civil War and the invasion of the U.S.S.R. by the fascist armies, there was not a day—it may be truly said—when the danger of war did not hang over the Soviet borders, when world imperialism did not threaten the land of socialism. Slanderous inventions, attempts at provocation followed one upon another in endless succession; and the intervals between them were occupied in hurried, shameless preparation of new provocations and new slanders.

In January 1926, when the collapse of the first imperialist campaign against the Soviets was still fresh in memory, oil magnate Sir Henri Deterding announced to all the world that "before many months, Russia will come back to civilization," that "Bolshevism in Russia will be over before this year is out." Winston Churchill was rather less hasty. "I give Russia seven years," he declared in 1928. Intervention was planned for 1929; it was planned for 1930; it was planned for 1931. And even in 1940—involved in war with Hitler Germany, and having grave cause to foresee the enemy's triumph in Belgium, Holland, France, and Denmark—the Western imperialists went cheerfully, energetically on with their preparations for attack on the Soviet Union!

Nor, through those two decades, was it merely a matter of preparations. There was action, too. Many a Soviet diplomat fell victim, in the twenties, to assassins in the

pay of the warmongers. Time after time, the aggressors tried, bayonet in hand, to test the Soviet people's self-control—and the strength of their borders. Compelled to give up their talk of a *cordon sanitaire*—"iron curtain" of the years of intervention and Civil War—the imperialists did not at all give up the idea of such a "cordon." They continued their blockade policy, hindering to the best of their ability the development of economic and cultural exchange between the Soviet Union and other countries.

To the anti-Soviet policy of the big powers, the Soviet state opposed a policy of peace. On their first appearance in the field of international politics, at the Genoa Conference of 1922, Soviet diplomats advanced a proposal for the restriction of armaments; and in the years that followed the Soviet Government was the initiator of numerous proposals aimed at the consolidation of universal security. It was the Soviet Union, for example, that proposed the idea of non-aggression and neutrality pacts, and advanced a concrete programme for complete and universal disarmament. The Soviet Union was the first to point to the danger of a second world war, and to expose the instigators of such war.

The system of collective security proposed by the U.S.S.R. might well have served to stop the aggressors and ward off war. But the peace moves of the Soviet Government received no support among Western ruling circles, and almost every Soviet proposal in defence of peace was thus left hanging in the air.

For all that, however, the Soviet Government's resolute and consistent effort in the cause of peace brought definite results, protracting the breathing space between the wars.

The Soviet Union was never alone in its struggle against war, for peace and friendly cooperation among all countries. Millions upon millions, the world over, were with the Soviet people in defence of peace. The active struggle of the masses of the working people and of progressive intellectuals in East and West against the anti-Soviet intrigues of the forces of reaction, against the danger of

a new predatory war, played no unimportant part in delaying the conflict. The history of those years is rich in memories of outstanding contributions rendered to the cause of peace by the true friends of the Soviet peoples.

WHEN FRIENDS OF THE U.S.S.R. ASSEMBLE

The First Congress of Friends of the Soviet Union took place in Moscow in November 1927, coinciding with the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Convened at the initiative of a number of public men of various countries, the congress was attended by 947 delegates, representing the broad masses of the toiling people, and above all the workers, of 43 countries.

The appeal adopted at the closing session of the congress read:

"We, representatives of the workers, the peasants, the cooperatives, the peoples bowed under the yoke of imperialism; we, working in the fields of science and of the arts, of education and of culture; we, Social-Democrats, non-Party people, Communists, and members of national revolutionary parties, gathered in Moscow, on the tenth anniversary of the Great October Revolution, at this congress of friends of the U.S.S.R., feel ourselves in duty bound to declare openly, to all the world:

"We regard war against the U.S.S.R. as shameful counter-revolution, as a heinous crime against toiling humanity.

"War against the U.S.S.R. is war against the working class and the peasantry in the interests of the landlords and capitalists. War against the U.S.S.R. is a crusade against socialism, in the interests of capitalism.

"War against the U.S.S.R. means war against the toiling people of all the world; means support of the blackest forces of international reaction in their effort to destroy the labour movement in all lands and to crush the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples.

"War against the workers' state means support of the system of ever-recurrent imperialist wars—wars that

will grow ever more reactionary, more monstrous, more destructive; wars that threaten to reduce to ashes the attainments of technology and culture, of science and the arts, gained by thousands of years of human labour.

"We call upon all honest opponents of war, upon all workers of hand and brain, to launch a determined struggle to halt the preparations for war against the U.S.S.R., to halt any attack upon the proletarian dictatorship, from whatever source this attack may issue, whoever its supporters, and whatever the ideological slogans used to mask it....

"The congress hails the policy of peace conducted by the Soviet Union, and declares that it is only thanks to the firm will for peace evinced by the Soviet Government that war has not as yet broken out. The congress declares that any capitalist state would long since have resorted to arms, had it been subjected to such infamous acts of violence as have been directed against bodies representing the proletarian state in London, Peking, Shanghai, Paris, and Warsaw (the assassination of Voikov).

"The congress declares that the faith of the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R., and likewise of the Red Army, in their government's will for peace and in the necessity of defending the achievements of the Revolution will ensure the mobilization of all the toiling masses in the U.S.S.R. and their successful defence against attack, wherever it may come from.

"The congress approves the initiative of the Soviet Government, which has advanced a genuine programme of peace and disarmament in connection with the disarmament conference which is being called by the League of Nations. The congress is of the opinion that this conference is being called, above all else, to bring the Great Powers into agreement on armament against the U.S.S.R. And, therefore, the congress calls upon all the toiling people, upon all honest fighters against imperialist war, to give their every support to the proposals of the Soviet Government, in order the more clearly and convincingly to expose the deception practised by the League of Nations and by the organizations that support it.

"Representatives of the workers, of the toiling peasantry, of the revolutionary intellectuals, of the oppressed nations, we call for courageous support of the U.S.S.R. and of the Chinese revolution...."

* * *

1930, in the West, was ushered in by a virulent anti-Soviet campaign, in press and parliaments. At the same time, a commission made up of representatives of the English, French, and Polish General Staffs was set up to work out plans for intervention against the U.S.S.R. and for the preparation of troops to that end. The purposes of this commission were approved and actively supported by ruling circles in the United States. U.S. President Herbert Hoover stated at that time: "To tell the truth, the ambition of my life is to stamp out Soviet Russia."

But the people, the masses, were of an altogether different point of view.

In March 1930, at Essen, Germany, the friends of the Soviet Union convened their second congress. Here is a report from a newspaper of that period:

"The Second International Congress of Friends of the Soviet Union has opened at Essen. Delegates are present from France, England, America, Germany, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, Poland, Rumania, and other countries. Part of the delegates represent societies of friends of the U.S.S.R., and part—trade-union organizations.

"On the eve of the congress opening, yesterday, an international meeting was held at Hamborn, attended by thousands of Ruhrland workers. The spirit at the meeting was one of firm determination to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. Several of the foreign delegates spoke. Edith Rudquist, of the American Friends of the Soviet Union, spoke of the profound crisis in which the United States and the other capitalist states are plunged, and contrasted it with the achievements of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R.

"Delegate Reich, delivering greetings from the workers of Austria, told the meeting that he had been expelled

from the Social-Democratic Party because, on returning from a visit to the U.S.S.R., he had come out in defence of the proletarian state. This statement evoked shouts of anger and contempt against the Social-Democratic leaders.

"Delegate Jonsson, representing the Swedish workers, spoke of the oppression of the working class in Sweden, and brought out with particular emphasis the role of the Kreuger match trust as a vehicle of imperialism.

"The meeting adopted a telegram of protest to the Pope at Rome, concluding with the biblical saying: 'They that take the sword shall perish with the sword.'

"Further, it adopted a telegram to be sent to the German ambassador in Moscow, declaring that the German workers protest vigorously against the anti-Soviet campaign, and that they will know how to express their sympathy for the Soviet Union in action."

Such was the spirit which prevailed all through the Second Congress of Friends of the U.S.S.R. The delegates, in their speeches, exposed the plans of intervention that were being hatched by the Western imperialists and expressed the will of the working people to block the way to war against the Soviet Union. The congress resolved "to launch energetic work among the masses, to organize an active campaign and a mass movement in defence of the U.S.S.R." The work of the congress helped to intensify the struggle against anti-Soviet aggression.

ROMAIN ROLLAND UNMASKS THE AGGRESSORS

In 1919 the great French writer Romain Rolland protested stormily "against Western intervention, armed or masked, and against the starvation blockade around the Soviets."

In the twenties and thirties, Rolland was the author of numerous articles, letters, and public statements which he was later to describe thus: "They expose the falsehood of Geneva* and 'Pan-Europe,'" "Piracy under the flag of

* The League of Nations.—*Ed.*

peace." "They sing the praises of the Russian Revolution and sound the call for defence of the proletarian fatherland."

Rolland's book *In Defence of the New World*, issued for the fifteenth anniversary of the October Revolution, carries the well-justified subtitle, "A Collection of Fighting Articles." Outstanding master of world literature, writer of tremendous influence, joining in the late years of his life with the champions of socialism, Rolland wielded his pen to his dying day; and it was a splendid weapon, this pen, for defence of the Soviet Union, defence of the proletariat, defence of culture.

In his article *On Pan-Europe*, Rolland wrote:

"...I warn all who hear me against the growth of reaction in Europe. I call upon them to mark that the first symptoms of reaction always are threats against Russia. I refuse to recognize a Europe that has not sincerely recognized the U.S.S.R. For, whatever its mistakes—mistakes only too understandable in a vast country, ringed in by enemies and gnawed by treachery, where the Revolution has received from the monstrous system it smashed an appalling heritage of poverty, ignorance, venality, and devastation, which it must now wipe out—whatever the failures which may have befallen the great original dreams, Lenin's sword-keen vision—the U.S.S.R. remains a vital barrier against European reaction, a vital counterweight to fascism which is injecting itself, under every possible guise, into the veins of the West. Allow none to touch the U.S.S.R.!

"Be always vigilant. And whatever peace you may be offered, stand watch over it. Do not turn over this trust to so-called reliable people. A healthy democracy is best preserved by its own forces...."

At the same period, another article by Rolland, *In Defence of the U.S.S.R.*, appeared in the press all over the world.

"For several months now," Rolland wrote in this article, "the nationalist press, run by international business, has been trying by the basest means to turn public opinion against the U.S.S.R. and through public opinion to

compel the European governments—only too eager for such compulsion—to take action.

"Let them not fool themselves. Public opinion condemns the provocateurs....

"Ha! So you want to stir up public opinion, do you? Well, see that you don't stir it up against yourselves! To us, this is not a question of conflicting doctrines. Many of us, like the writer of these lines, are not Communists.... But now we must put aside differences. We all unite against the common foe—be we individualists or Communists, Socialists or syndicalists. We will not allow those most infamous forms of reaction—the reaction of money, the sword, the club, and the tiara, falsely veiled in the integuments of religion, justice, and civilization—to enthrall our West, to send our peoples against the great brother peoples of the Russian Revolution and their heroic effort. Well do we know that this effort makes you tremble. You would not rave against it so furiously if you did not fear that it will succeed. It is of vital importance to you to smash their plan of gigantic reconstruction. * For you know that, once they succeed in their plan—and that is a question of three years—the bastion of the Union of proletarian republics will raise its massive bulk over the whole of Europe and challenge all your attacks. All your plans of world conquest will crash. It will be too late.... That you know....

"But we, too, know. And therefore we tear the mask from your face, exposing you to all the world. Avaunt, conspirators! And hands off the U.S.S.R.!"

"ON THE SIDE OF THE RUSSIAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS"

(Four human documents)

Harus, a Czechoslovakian worker, was arrested for declaring, at a mass meeting in the town of Czecho-Slovo, "The proletarians of our country will not fight against

* The First Five-Year Plan.—*Ed.*

the Soviet Union." While in prison, Harus learned that a workers' delegation was preparing to leave for the Soviet Union. He had a little money, 84 kronen, received for his work at the prison. This he managed to smuggle out to his friends, to be contributed towards the purchase of a tractor for the Soviet collective farmers.

In a letter to the delegation, Harus wrote:

"Here in my prison cell, I think constantly, with beating heart, of the moment when the five-year plan will be completed. I can see them, those millions of hands, working to carry out the plan. Its fulfilment is already well on the way....

"We must help the Russian comrades by standing on vigilant guard for their cause, and keeping watch over their enemies.

"Should you be asked which side the Czechoslovakian worker will take in the coming war, reply that he will not take the side of the imperialists, but will come out against them, on the side of the Russian workers, peasants, and Red Army men."

* * *

Communist deputy Żarski, speaking in the Polish Sejm in February 1930, declared:

"...It is my duty, from this hall, to brand the treacherous plottings of the social-fascists and the warmongers. I call upon the masses of the toiling people to fight the war preparations against the U.S.S.R. (*Commotion in the hall.*)

"...I call upon the masses of the soldiers, in case of war, to go over to the side of the Red Army, because the Red Army defends the world's only socialist state against world capital. (*The commotion in the hall grows into a savage roar.*) It is our duty to defend the workers' and peasants' state, to defend the Soviet Union against Pilsudski's* fascist government. I call upon the masses of the soldiers, in case of new war, to turn their bayonets

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* Pilsudski—leader of the most reactionary groupings in bourgeois and landlord Poland.—*Ed.*

against their own commanders, who try to send them into battle against the U.S.S.R.

"...You need a new war—you, Poland's capitalists and generals. Our old wounds have not had time to heal—and again you thirst for workers' blood. The peasant masses want no war. The peasants demand the soil, demand it without payment...."

At this point the bourgeois deputies rushed forward, brandishing their fists, to drag Žarski from the speakers' stand. He was forcibly removed from the Sejm assembly hall.

A few months later, Žarski was sentenced to eight years in prison. On other counts, the same court added to his sentence eight more years of stringent imprisonment.

* * *

In that same year of 1930 the Pilsudski government decided to test the country's preparedness for war. With this purpose, a test mobilization of reservists was announced in the factory city of Lodz. Here is the story of that mobilization, as told by the Lodz worker P., which was published shortly afterwards in the progressive press:

"On March 9, 1930, there was great agitation on the streets of Lodz, because workers of the 1896-1902 age group were being forcibly taken from the factories by the police. The rumour spread that they were being mobilized for war against the Soviet Union. This evoked a storm of indignation.

"Orders given to the reservists were met with whistling and guffaws and the declaration that they would not fight against the Soviet Union.

"Still, the first day of the mobilization was comparatively quiet. But on the second day the reservists' wives, mothers, and children began to gather outside the barracks. The police tried to disperse the crowd by force, but the women resisted. Near by, someone scattered communist leaflets.

"The reservists, standing at the barrack windows, began to protest against the dispersal of their wives and

mothers. Then the mounted police were sent for. Fifteen minutes later, a fascist troop cut into the crowd and began to break it up savagely. The reservists, locked in the barracks, stood at the windows, shouting—'Down with the fascist hangmen! Long live the Communist Party! Long live the Soviet Union!'—and hurling chairs, bowls, billets, hunks of bread, everything that came to hand, at the police. Struck by a bottle, one of the mounted police slipped from his saddle and fell to the ground. Inside the barracks, the frightened officers ordered the reservists to leave the windows; but this order was met by rough refusal. One of the reservists cried, 'To arms, friends! Let's show these scoundrels we can fight!' And scores of reservists ran to the rifle depot. There a strong armed detachment of non-commissioned officers surrounded and arrested them. The demonstration lasted almost six hours."

The events in Lodz caused great unrest among the Polish proletariat.

* * *

In November 1930 the newspaper *Pravda* received a letter from France. Its author, a metal-worker, was an ex-soldier of the 136th Infantry Division, and had participated in the intervention against the Soviet Republic.

"Today," this French proletarian wrote, "when every one of us has come to realize the tremendous significance of the Soviet Union for the entire working class—when we see in the Soviet Union, in place of the first green sprouts of the new society, the rapid advance of the building of socialism—today we will not only refuse to march against the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R.; we will join with them, and turn our rifles against the common enemy: the imperialists of all the world."

And, in conclusion:

"Remember, comrades, that the work of your machines frightens the bourgeoisie more than cannon balls; and the best response to the enemy's plottings will be the further extension and consolidation of your socialist industry."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S LETTERS ABOUT RUSSIA

"I must not die before I see the Soviet Union," repeatedly declared Rabindranath Tagore, great Indian writer and poet, artist and public leader.

And, in September 1930, shortly before his seventieth birthday, Tagore did visit the Soviet Union. The hardships and privations of that period, when the U.S.S.R. was straining every sinew to overcome its heritage of backwardness and build up the mighty material and technical foundations of socialism—these hardships and privations did not blind Tagore to the tremendous advantages of the Soviet social system, to the grandeur of the Soviet people's aims and achievements. He was carried away by enthusiasm for the historic attainments, the wonderful fruits, of the October Revolution; and this enthusiasm he expressed in a series of letters to his friends.

Every word that he wrote was eloquent testimony to the hypocrisy and falsehood of the enemies of the Soviet state, exposing them to the people of India, and to all Tagore's readers, as arrant slanderers.

His letters were later published in book form, and repeatedly republished.

Here is one of these *Letters About Russia*, somewhat abridged.

"The Atlantic Ocean.
"On board the S.S. *Bremen*

"After my trip through Russia, I set out today for America. But my whole being is still engrossed by the memory of Russia. That is because my imagination was stimulated there as it has never been in other countries that I have visited. Other countries divide up their energy among different fields of activity: politics, hospitals, schools, museums—each by itself. But here there is one common aim, extending its fine network to embrace all the country's life—creating one vast, integral organism, one great personality. Common aspirations have united all into one.

"Such profound oneness of soul is impossible in those countries where property and energy are divided up by personal, private interests. During the five years of war in Europe the basic activities and the basic aspirations of the peoples in these countries were subordinated to one common aim, one common impulse of the spirit. But that was temporary. In Soviet Russia, what characterizes all activity is the aspiration to build their extraordinary life, as the cause of all, the spirit of all, the right of all....

"The sole stimulus for activity in all other European countries is personal enrichment, personal pleasure. There is both poison and nectar in their vast stimulating power, as in the foam-white sea sung in the Puranas.* But the nectar does not go to the majority. It goes to a minority. And with it comes an endless flow of misfortunes and anxieties. People thought this unavoidable. Greed, they said, is human nature; and it is this that has brought about the unequal distribution of property. Hence, clashes are inevitable, and we must be always prepared for them. But what the Soviet people want to say implies that unity is human nature. As a result of unanimous implulse and unanimous aspiration, the mirage of hostility vanishes like a dream the moment we stop thinking about it.

"In Russia, these efforts are tremendously widespread. They permeate everything. In Russia, you sense a tremendous advance of human thinking. In no other country have I seen such a tremendous extension of education as here. The point is that, in other countries where education exists, its fruits are gathered only by those who receive it. Here, there is education for all in the education of each. Lack of education in each is felt by all. With the aid of universal education they seek to advance in the development of collective thinking. They are people working on a world scale. And therefore they require great wisdom, and therefore they must have real education, and on a broad scale.

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* Puranas—sacred Hindu epics, in mythological form.—*Ed.*

"...They are working with tremendous energy to force up in the shortest possible time the entire country's agricultural and industrial might. That is serious, and important. They are tremendously resolved to stand on their own feet in the competition with the capitalist countries.

"We are accustomed to think, in such situations, that the bright glow of one torch calls for full absorption of all light, that otherwise people will be bewildered, confused—particularly in regard to the fine arts, which are in contradiction with severe decisions. To build a strong character in your countrymen, you need but make them march in step; and if Sarasvati's * lute can be made into a club, its existence may be justified—otherwise, it is superfluous. How false all this talk is, we may clearly see in the example of this country. Building plants and factories throughout the country, they strive to elevate the workers, carrying through tremendous work to make art, through the education they receive, understandable to them. They know that those who do not understand art are barbarians; and barbarians are rude without but weak within. Modern playwrighting has greatly advanced in Russia. In the fearful, difficult, hungry times that followed on the Revolution of 1917 they danced, and sang, and loved the theatre; and this was in no contradiction to the tremendous historical drama they themselves had staged.

"There is no life in the desert. Life is to be found where frothing waters, tumbling from mountain crags, rise in their might; where, when the spring floods flow, snow-capped mountain peaks gleam blue....

"Varied forms of art find representation in Russia's theatres. In each of them, gradually, there appear creative seekings for new ways; and these seekings are not hindered. The Revolution which has changed the social system has opened up infinite vistas for new creative ventures. They

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* Sarasvati—goddess of wisdom and eloquence; portrayed with a lute.—*Ed.*

do not fear what is new, either in society, or in the state, or in art.

"The Soviet revolutionaries have cut the ground from under the age-old religion and the old state structure, which repressed all thinking and deprived the spirit of all freedom. It makes the heart glad to see what freedom has been gained, in such short time, by a people so cruelly suppressed in the past; for no ruler on earth can be a worse foe than religious fanaticism, which destroys the freedom of the human spirit. Not even a ruler can so curtail the freedom of his subjects.

"To this day we see on every hand how rulers, striving to keep their subjects enslaved, give every support to religion, which blinds the people. This religion—it is like a beautiful maiden with poison within her. Embracing its victim, it casts a spell over him; and when the spell has taken effect, it kills him. The arrows of faith penetrate deeper into the brain than the arrows of force; for the death of faith is the death of peace of mind. The Soviet rule has saved its country from humiliation, has freed it from the grip of the spiritual slavery engendered by the autocracy. Priests in other countries condemn them for this, but I cannot condemn them. Atheism is far better than religion. Russia carried on her shoulders the vast dead weight of tsarism, religion, and oppression. On visiting Russia, one can see for oneself what tremendous possibilities have been created, now that this dead weight has been cast off.

"October 3, 1930"

AFTER VISITING THE U.S.S.R.

There was a time in the thirties, at the height of one of the usual anti-Soviet campaigns of slander—this time, it was the "forced labour" lie—when the Soviet Government proposed to the governments of all the other powers a very simple and effective method of bringing out the truth: that delegations of workers from various coun-

tries, chosen by the workers themselves, be sent to the Soviet Union to observe at first hand the conditions of labour in the U.S.S.R.; and that similar opportunities be accorded to delegations of Soviet workers.

Not a single government, in East or West, agreed. The Soviet proposal was rejected—immediately and decisively.

Then, as now, entry into the U.S.S.R. was open to foreigners—except, of course, for known spies and wreckers. The Soviet people have always been glad of guests. Even in the most difficult periods, they welcomed as brothers representatives of the working people of other countries, and accorded full hospitality to any foreigner, whatever his convictions, who did not behave dishonourably towards the U.S.S.R.

With every year of Soviet rule, there were more and more foreign delegations to the land of the five-year plans, the land of socialist construction and, later, of socialism victorious. In their great majority, these guests of the Soviet people, on returning home, described truly to their countrymen what they saw and learned during their visits; and the truth about the Soviet Union won new hearts to its support, aroused new forces to take up the struggle against the warmongers.

Here are a few documents illustrative of the splendid mission of the workers' delegations which visited the U.S.S.R. during the thirties.

HAVING HEARD THE REPORTS OF THE DELEGATES....

(Belgium 1930)

The 600 workers of Brussels assembled in the Lieu Doré, St. Géry Square on October 22, having heard the reports of their delegates back from the U.S.S.R., hail the efforts of the Soviet proletariat to build socialism, pledge to counteract the lies of the bourgeois and Social-Democratic press with the truth of the reports by the

workers who have visited the U.S.S.R., affirm their determination to defend the U.S.S.R. against the machinations of the imperialists and pledge to multiply the ranks of "Friends of the U.S.S.R."

The 200 workers of Huy province assembled in the Grand Theatre of Huy on October 9, having heard the reports of the delegates back from the U.S.S.R., declare that they will spare no effort in defence of the U.S.S.R; denounce the lies spread by the bourgeois and Social-Democratic press about the Soviet land and pledge to multiply the ranks of "Friends of the U.S.S.R."

The 500 workers of Seraing, assembled in the Theatre of Seraing on November 19, having heard the reports of the delegates back from the U.S.S.R., send fraternal greetings to the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, the builders of socialism, and declare their readiness selflessly to defend the first socialist state in the world.

The 300 textile workers of the valley of Vesdre assembled in Faria Hall, Verviers, on October 26, having heard the reports of the delegates back from the U.S.S.R., denounce the lies spread by the counter-revolutionaries and affirm their complete solidarity with the people of the Great October Revolution. They are prepared to go into battle in defence of the Soviet Union, the socialist homeland of the world proletariat.

"SOLIDARITY WITH THE U.S.S.R."

(From the declaration of a Dutch railwaymen's delegation)

The delegation of Dutch railwaymen, made up of five non-Party people, four Communists, one Social-Democrat, and one Catholic, having visited Moscow and Leningrad, feels called upon, before leaving, to make the following statement:

"Ever since the Soviet Union came into being, the bourgeoisie and the Social-Democratic press have lied to us about the situation there.

"At a time when, in the capitalist countries, millions of unemployed are doomed to destitution, in the U.S.S.R. there is a shortage of the labour power required to accelerate the building of socialism, the sole aim of which is to improve the lives of the working people. In contrast to capitalist rationalization, socialist rationalization in the U.S.S.R. opens up broad fields for the application of labour and increases the well-being of the working people.... Every energy is concentrated on improving the workers' health and preventing disease. The system of social insurance in the U.S.S.R. is unequalled in any other country. Women's equality with men in the economic and political spheres constitutes a revolution freeing women of their past economic dependence. As to proletarian art, and culture generally, we saw during our visits to clubs and theatres how far behind the Soviet Union has left the capitalist countries in this respect.

"Our visits to plants and factories, workers' dining-rooms, prisons, barracks, clubs, theatres, hospitals, etc., have convinced us that what is being built in the U.S.S.R. is an entirely new society. We understand, now, why the capitalist class, and with it the Social-Democrats, is doing everything in its power to destroy the first Soviet Republic. And therefore we shall consider it our duty, on our return to Holland, to spare no effort in explaining to the workers in industry and agriculture the great work that is being done here.

"The imperialists will throw all their forces into the preparation of armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. The Dutch railwaymen's delegation calls upon the entire working class of Holland to prove its solidarity with the U.S.S.R. in action, when the moment comes; to bind up the struggle in defence of the U.S.S.R. ever more closely with the struggle in defence of the direct interests of the Dutch workers, and with full and unconditional support of the anti-imperialist liberation struggle in Indo-China."

1930

THE CONCERN OF THE WORKERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD

(From a report of the British workers' delegation)

"The only conclusion from all these experiences is that the Russian workers have won a great victory not only for themselves, but for the workers of the whole world. They have given the lead that all countries must surely follow sooner or later. Here indeed is a workers' country, and progress for the workers: a land where there is no unemployment, increasing wages, and real security for all workers. The defence of the U.S.S.R. is not a question for the workers of Russia alone, but for the workers of the whole world, who must not allow themselves to be used to arrest the progress of this new world, the only workers' country.

"We, the British delegation, pledge ourselves to tell the truth to the workers that elected us to go to Russia, to contradict the lies circulated in the capitalist press, to rally broad masses to the support of the workers' fatherland."

May 23, 1932

AN AMERICAN POSTER

No more unemployment

No Wage cuts!

No Starvation!

in Soviet Russia

Fellow Workers!
There is a reason:
Learn how the Russian workers did away with Hard Times!

Mass Meeting
Workers' Center
157 Center Av.
Friday, Jan. 8, at 8 p. m.

Hear the Members of the American Delegation to the 14th Anniversary of the Revolution of the Workers and Peasants of Russia!

They have been there! They visited the new factories, the new state farms and the collective farms.

They saw people of former oppressed nations free and building Socialism within their own Republic. Can these conditions be secured in America?

Come and hear the story!

The Russian Revolution freed millions!

Do you know what it means to you?

Speakers

Norman Tallentire
National Organizer
Friends of the Soviet Union

Lillian Lynch
a Negro Woman Worker
Answers the question—
Can the Negroes Secure Self Determination?

Other Prominent Speakers

Auspices of Friends of the Soviet Union—Room 414, 611 Penn Av., Pgh.

"THE WHOLE TRUTH...."

(From a report by an Australian workers' delegation)

"...We consider that these people have greater opportunities and receive greater encouragement than in any capitalist country.... The industrialization of agriculture is for the benefit of the peasant population and the enthusiasm of the workers in this direction is sufficient evidence of their satisfaction.

"As compared with conditions in our country, the conditions in the U.S.S.R. are much more advantageous to the worker. This is owing to the fact that economic development is planned on scientific lines for the benefit of the people as a whole, and is controlled by the people. While in capitalist countries the economy is developed on purely chaotic lines. We therefore consider that the Soviet system with its planned economy is the only solution to the world crisis. We consider that the main reasons for the successes achieved are: the faith of the people in the leadership of the Communist Party; the enthu-

siasm of the workers and their determination to win through, despite the obstacles placed in their way by capitalist countries, and the expenditure of much energy and material on defensive purposes.

"As we consider the system obtaining today in the U.S.S.R. is the only system that can permanently benefit the workers, and any attack on this country would constitute an offence against the working class of the world, and must therefore be resisted by all workers, we will do our utmost to prevent such an attack taking place.

"During our stay in the U.S.S.R. every facility to carry out our investigation has been given us. All questions have been readily answered and the workers have been eager to discuss their position under the Soviet Government. Prior to our departure to the U.S.S.R. from our country the press indicated that what we would see would be specially prepared for us. We would like to state that what we have seen has been satisfactory and we have been invited to prepare our own programme of investigation.

"We also realize the hospitality that has been extended to us as workers from abroad and are very appreciative of this fact.

"We therefore realize the necessity of telling the truth about the Soviet Union to the workers of Australia and pledge ourselves to do so on our return.

"We intend to join the FOSU and intend to influence as many workers as possible to do likewise."

1932

S. ANDERSON *J. AARONS*
L. A. MELLINS *A. GRAY*
C. S. COLLINS *H. CLIFFORD*
F. GOOZEFF *B. TAYLOR*

COMBATING LIES AND SLANDER

Many of the members of one of the French workers' delegations to visit the Soviet Union in the thirties, after signing the collective declaration made by the delegation before its departure, added their own personal statements:

"...I want to confirm," wrote Siguret, "the pledge I made to my fellow-bricklayers of the Seine that I shall both orally and in writing tell the truth about what is taking place in the Soviet Union. Already now I can state that at the meetings I'll address and in my reports I will combat all attacks on the Soviet Union in which anybody with an open mind cannot fail to see the dawn of a new morrow, the precursor of a better future for mankind."

"...I shall take the floor at all meetings organized by them" (different progressive organizations.—*Ed.*), wrote Cattaneo, "in order to tell about what I've seen in the U.S.S.R., in order to expose the lies of the bourgeois press. I pledge to start a section of the Friends of the Soviet Union at the plant where I am working, I also pledge to organize a public meeting in my locality and to form a section of the FOSU there."

"...When I was elected a delegate by the workers of my plant," wrote Moully, "I gave a formal promise conscientiously to give an account of my trip to the U.S.S.R. I shall keep my word and do everything within my power to defend the Soviet Union against all attacks."

"...In keeping with my statement to my comrades of the organization," wrote Plomb, "I can only add that I shall in every way, and at least at five or six meetings, do everything possible to mobilize the workers in defence of the Soviet Union."

"...On my return to France," wrote Delaume, "I pledge to address the one or two meetings planned at the time of my departure and to organize another 10 meetings and more on the request of any organization. At meetings and elsewhere, whenever attempts are made to slander the U.S.S.R., I shall oppose all adversaries.... I shall also do everything possible for another delegate to be sent to continue the work I have started and which I'll continue."

Among the material of those days relating to the activity of the Soviet Union's foreign friends is a short account of a meeting in Havre. The meeting was addressed by Cornic, a representative of the dockers of Havre and a member of the delegation that had visited the Soviet Union.

"Everybody at the meeting," reads the account, "listened to the speech of delegate Cornic with tremendous interest for it was known that before leaving for the U.S.S.R. he did not believe everything about its achievements. He had also said that he was not going to make a report.

"'I went to Russia as your delegate, I have covered many thousand kilometres, visited numerous factories, institutions, prisons and have seen the Red Army. I have come back convinced as will others who go to Russia that socialism was really being built there; that everything was for the working people, those who work have the right to eat. I saw shock brigades, they are led by the Communists; everywhere Communists and Komsomols are competing to carry out the Five-Year Plan.*

"'Everywhere I saw working people looking happy and satisfied. I saw workers with rifles slung across their shoulder. And if they had been forced to work, if they had not trusted the Communists who are leading them to socialism they could easily have turned them out. Why are the workers in capitalist countries not entrusted with weapons? So that they should not dare to contradict their governments.'

"He (Cornic) refuted certain statements made by anarchists and ended his speech with a call to the dockers and to all present to organize a section of the Society of Friends of the Soviet Union and asked to be enrolled a member of the society."

THE ROAD TO LIFE

One fine April day in 1930 four Czechoslovak workers and a journalist violated the state border and the law by secretly crossing into the U.S.S.R. What had induced them to do that? First, to see for themselves what exactly

* Cornic was not fully informed, evidently: not only Communists but non-Party people as well led the shock brigades of the early five-year plan periods; and not only Communists and Komsomols but nearly all workers, up to 90 per cent of them, took part in socialist emulation in those years.—*Ed.*

was taking place in the Soviet land about which the "Big Press" was daily churning out all kinds of horror stories and, secondly, the flat refusal of the authorities to issue them foreign passports for so "reprehensible" a trip.

In the Soviet Union these unexpected guests were cordially welcomed. The result of their visit was the appearance of a book which won immediate recognition in all quarters. The title of the book was: *In the Country Where Our Tomorrow Is Already Yesterday.* It came from the pen of Julius Fučik, author of the immortal *Notes from the Gallows*, national hero of Czechoslovakia and one of its outstanding writers.

The publication of Julius Fučik's book of essays about the Soviet Union irrefutably gave the lie to the fantastic stories being spread by the ill-wishers of Soviet society. In his preface which he addresses "To My Soviet Comrades" (which we give abridged), he writes:

"This book has appeared thanks to you. You gave us, four workers and a journalist, the possibility to learn about distant and wonderful lands. You gave us the possibility not only to see your life and your work, but also to live that life.

"We five foreigners arrived not a little confused and very curious. Enthralled by the majestic undertaking we became its participants for several months, became a part of the great collective of labour without ourselves perceiving it and saw the world through its eyes.

"We became a part of you all too quickly. The pain at being so far away from you is all the more intense at times. When we were with you it seemed to us that we had done with the ugly past, that the hardships of the morrow had gone never to return.

"I remember that evening with hospitable Asherbek round the fire of a Kirghiz *yurta*, on the slope of the Alexandre mountain range. Sitting with legs crossed he recalled tsarist times and his life of poverty while I, in turn, told him about our life in a distant land in Central Europe, about a life without liberty. He listened attentively and it seemed to me that I was telling him about times long past.

"But we had to return to those times.

"We are standing on board ship. The Neva swiftly carries us out to sea. And we, with faces turned toward the slender spire of the Peter and Paul Fortress and the docks of the Baltic shipyards, still see the sadness in the eyes of the Leningrad worker who helped us with our baggage. Now I know that it was sympathy for us, but then we did not understand it.

"And now we have returned.

"We returned home very much like five foreigners, in high spirits and full of your vigour. The night streets shone with a myriad lights, the glistening ribbon of asphalt reflected changing colours of red, yellow and blue. Along it sped automobiles carrying their passengers, some gay, others sad. From basement cafés on the boulevards came the wailing of saxophones and the scraping of feet of dancing couples—the Western capital was enjoying a short-lived boom ... and there we stood, dejected and disconsolate.

"The pandemonium of this world shut out the wide horizon from our view. Where is that sensation of freedom and strength that was with us as we strode along Tverskaya Street * and through the fields near Samara? Where that mighty stream that swept us along and in which we swept others along with us?...

"Here a thousand streams converge but you feel as though you are hemmed in. You are not swept along by the stream and you sweep nobody along with you. You are crushed. The wheels of daily life grind over you and you don't know where they are moving and why you have been made their victim.

"Those, comrades, were the first sensations of a person just back from your country.

"We had grown up too fast living with your reality, our heads were teeming with your plans—plans which from dreams were being transformed into reality.

"And now we have returned. We have returned not so many thousand kilometres but many, many years, the years that separate you from 1917.

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* Now Gorky Street, Moscow.—*Ed.*

"Life with you has not become a shadowy dream for us but an example. The wheels of daily life are ever grinding on their course but now we know which way to direct them so that they move in the needed direction. From city dwellings and country hillsides rivulets are gradually beginning to converge to form a single mighty stream. And this stream will sweep us along and we will sweep others along with us. That is why, comrades, this book which I am sending you is not in the least like the one I could have written in the early days following my return. My eyes which have seen your world have, since I have come back, seen a lot here, in old Europe. And now I see the significance of it all.

"Yes, I have seen a great deal here, 'at home.'

"I have seen workers outside the labour exchange....

"I have seen unemployed lying on the steps of stations....

"I have seen a man die of hunger. He was lying on a rickety wooden bunk, near by stood three of his comrades. Outside messenger boys delivering stock-exchange telegrams were hurrying along the street, somewheres in the heart of the city glasses clinked and a toast was proposed to somebody's health, and here a man was dying of hunger. Three comrades, powerless and helpless, were standing near by and waiting until they remove his body so that they could lay down on the bunk.

"I have seen a drowned woman, who had been pulled out of the river.... There were no documents on her, only a wet slip of paper found in the pocket of her apron, on which one could faintly make out the words: 'If your rent is not paid by the 6th....'

"I have seen a worker, a member of the Communist Party who had spent two years in prison. He was on trial again and again, he was convicted for he had led workers in a hunger march. He was pale, his muscular figure lost in the ugly prison uniform. But his broad, powerful hands seemed to greet us and the smile revealing fine white teeth said in so many words that he was strong, that he would not bend, that he was continuing the fight even here....

"I have seen the corpses of four young miners in the

morgue of a small town. Only a few hours before they had buoyantly been walking along the road. Only yesterday they had been discussing where they would go to look for work. Only yesterday their mothers had wished them good luck. Now they were lying here, felled by police bullets, immobile and cold, like wax figures.... They had taken part in a demonstration because there was nothing to eat at home, because the whole family were unemployed—the mother and father, brothers and sisters. Poverty had dogged their footsteps for months. They wanted to live but police bullets cut short their lives....

"I have seen, comrades, dire need and despair, death and the determination to win a better life; I saw the struggle and the demonstrations, the faces of hundreds of thousands of people turned toward you, intently following your titanic labour; I saw the enslaved proletariat that wants to throw off the yoke.

"I have seen all this and I am writing a book. It is not only about what I have seen in your country. It is also about how we live and what lies ahead.

"But don't be afraid that living in this long night I have forgotten what you told us, that I will not carry out the one wish you expressed. You kept telling me: 'Speak the truth. Write about everything that you saw. Write about our achievements, we know that they are great. But also write about the difficulties confronting us, don't hold back anything for silence would be tantamount to a lie.'

"No, comrades, don't be afraid of this. I will not lie either in words or by keeping silent. Anybody who has seen what you are accomplishing, has seen your life, cannot lie. The truth about the Soviet Union is not a legend about a paradise on earth. Our workers would not swallow a lie for they do not believe in miracles.

"Had our delegation on its return told fantastic tales blackjacks would not have come raining down on our backs at the very first meeting. Had we told fantastic tales the police would not have broken up our meeting, the censors would not have banned our articles, we would not have been put behind bars. For fantastic tales about some unknown, distant land are not dangerous.

"You see, comrades, it is not that we are forbidden to speak about the Soviet Union here—we are allowed to lie about it, all we want.

"Had we described the Soviet Union as a paradise on earth nobody would have understood us, nobody would have found it interesting. But we spoke about things that have not been created by just gods. What we saw was something far more stupendous. We saw how the Soviet workers themselves were building a new world, a new socialist society. In the Land of Soviets nothing has come to the people from above. Nobody has ever given the Soviet people a thing. They have had to acquire it through their own efforts, had to build it up themselves. Brawny workers' hands are creating this world, are fashioning it with love and inspiration. This is taking place in the Soviet Union and nowhere else in the world, and it is taking place because the hands which now grip the levers of machines and the steering wheels of tractors once gripped guns and turned the wheel of history. At the fronts of the Revolution and the Civil War they cleared the way for the edifice going up today.

"A hard-fought struggle, bitter suffering, the loss of countless lives—such was the price of this liberation. But the Soviet people emerged victorious and they are now reaping the fruits of their labour. They are building up their well-being with their own hands.

"This kind of talk is comprehensible to the worker. It is not about paradise, but about the Soviet Union that my book tells. It is not about miracles but about you, the Soviet worker, about you whom I saw on the scaffoldings of the majestic edifice of the new society. It is about you who are carrying out the five-year plan.

"I not only wanted to see what is taking place, but how it is being accomplished. I saw the blueprint of grand projects in your hands.

"I rejected the idea of reflecting in my book all that is taking place in your country, for everything that was being built while I was there has now gone into commission. What was still an idea yesterday is today already a reality.

You told us what will be tomorrow and it has already become yesterday. Such are your tempos.

"In your country tomorrow has already become history and life is striding into the day after tomorrow.

"That is why this book is a reportage of what is already history. I realize this and I am sorry that my feeble pen cannot keep up with you.

"But what to you is already history is to us, comrades, still the morrow....

"I know that every straight piece of news about the Soviet Union has a revolutionizing influence even if that was not consciously the purpose of those who wrote it....

"I have set myself no other purpose than to write a book about your labour endeavour so that the people among whom I live can get a picture of this labour endeavour. An exact, true and honestly drawn picture. And I know what effect this picture will have. It will be like placing the reader at the cross-roads leading to two different worlds and writing on the signpost:

"'Road to life.'

"'Road to death.'

"You are already moving along the first road. To you my book will be a story of what in your country is now history.

"To us it will be a clarion call."

FIASCO OF THE ANTI-SOVIET "DAY OF PRAYER"

Among the many anti-Soviet campaigns of the thirties was the "Day of Prayer"—appointed by the Pope of Rome in connection with the alleged "Persecution of religion in the U.S.S.R."—with appeals to organize a "crusade" against the Soviet Union. The "crusade," however, came to nothing and the "Day of Prayer" ended in a fiasco. The papers reported:

France

Divine service held in the Catholic churches of Paris to whip up an anti-Soviet campaign was attended only by

seminarists, the usual worshippers and Whiteguard émigrés. The reactionary press which had raised such a hue and cry about "persecution of religion" in the U.S.S.R. and had widely publicized the "Day of Prayer" preferred to remain silent about how this "day" had gone off.

Germany

The only response to the anti-Soviet campaign of the clergy was the big counter-demonstration of working people, particularly in the Catholic districts, in defence of the Soviet Union. Something like 50 protest meetings were held daily throughout Germany for many days running.

Many workers left the church in protest against the slanderous inventions of the clergy, the foes of the Soviet people. In Chemnitz, for instance, 30 withdrew from their church communities on the "Day of Prayer" and another 100 in the days following.

Britain

The troops billeted in Kingstone were informed that they could, under a government order, attend the anti-Soviet church service if they wanted to. Not a single soldier did. In reporting this fact among many other such facts the *Daily Worker* noted that this was the sentiment of the overwhelming majority in the country.

Holland

Mass protest meetings were held throughout the country against the anti-Soviet "crusade" of the clergy. The meetings were attended by many workers.

The anti-Soviet campaign of the clergy was a complete failure. Even believers were apathetic to it.

Austria

In Steyr (working-class district in Upper Austria) an anti-religious meeting was arranged on the insistence of the working masses who vigorously protested against the anti-Soviet actions of the clergy. The district authorities, however, banned the meeting. The Social-Democratic

leadership of the Union concurred and cancelled it. But the workers were not to be put off. At the appointed hour more than 1,500 of them assembled in front of the Town Hall in a protest demonstration. There were several clashes with the gendarmerie. Troops were rushed to their assistance and guns were trained on the demonstrators. Clashes continued until midnight.

FOR LIBERTY AND BREAD, AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR

(From Wilhelm Pieck's speech in the Prussian Landtag on June 2, 1932)

"The Communist Party urges the working masses to fight against fascism for a terrible danger threatens them. The formation of the new Reich government which consists in the main of the big barons, industrialists and Kaiser generals, and particularly the programme advanced by this government, are an unprecedented onslaught on the vital interests of the working people. This government means greater poverty for the working people, it means the outright preparation for and unleashing of war against the Soviet Union. The establishment of this government is a brazen provocation and challenge to the working class whose unanimous answer to this must be a determined struggle. The working class must sweep out this government the way it drove out the government of Kapp in 1920 and the government of Cuno in 1923. (*Cries from the Communist deputies*: "*Hear, hear!*")

"The working class is faced with the alternative: does it want to allow this government and the forces backing it to reduce it to still greater straits and to drive it to war, does it want to allow itself to be smashed by a fascist dictatorship, or does it want by taking united action to sweep out this government and the forces behind it, and the system on which it rests?...

"We, Communists, turn to the workers and say: 'You can take power into your own hands if you will stand

united in the mass revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie.' (*Loud approval and applause from the benches of the Communists.*) That is the aim and meaning of the anti-fascist actions which the Communist Party calls upon the masses to take....

"Now about the large number of votes the Nazis have received of late.

"The working masses have fallen into despair. Hunger and need are spreading. Mass unemployment is on the increase. The number of bankruptcies among the small manufacturers is mounting. The destitution of the poor peasants is becoming increasingly acute. Nobody is any longer sure of the morrow. And there is no promise of relief, not a ray of hope for the working masses despite the many assurances made by the bourgeois parties and Social-Democrats. What is more, the different measures of the government, the various emergency decisions are aggravating the situation rather than easing it. The economic situation as a result of these measures is simply growing from bad to worse. And the different parliamentary decisions, the so-called measures of the different parties, are not helping matters either, for they all pursue one aim—to protect the bourgeoisie, the industrialists and big landowners and to reduce the working class to still greater poverty. The cut in wages and benefits—all this is the result of the developments that have affected the working masses in recent years.

"To this must be added the heavy burden of reparations which is shifted again and again entirely on to the shoulders of the working people. All the bourgeois parties, including the Social-Democratic Party, have been accomplices to this. On the pretext of creating possibilities for economic development they have saddled the working people with the burden of reparation.

"Hence the growing hatred of the masses, their hostility toward the ruling system, toward the capitalists, toward the obligations arising from the Versailles Treaty. The masses had once before hoped that the Social-Democratic Party would come to their aid. The eleven million votes cast for this party at the elections to the National

Assembly were an expression of these hopes of the working people.

"But the Social-Democrats used this trust of the masses not to wage a struggle for their vital interests. To Social-Democracy the preservation and consolidation of the capitalist economy come before the interests of the working class. The policy of complying with the Versailles dictate, which you (*the orator addresses the Social-Democrats*) are carrying out at the expense of the working class, you contended was necessary, that 'peaceful cooperation' with the 'enemy powers' calls for no struggle. You considered that sufficient reason to uphold the policy of fulfilling the Versailles Treaty. In spite of the demand of the Communists to begin a struggle against Versailles, against reparations and in united action with the French, British and American working class in an international struggle to smash the forces hostile to the proletariat, you not only refused to join the struggle but in every way hindered the proletariat from waging this struggle. The consequences of your policy, Herr Social-Democrats, are now evident for all to see.

"Losing all hope of Social-Democracy's 'people's policy' bringing any improvement the workers have been driven to despair.

"Thus, hatred of the capitalist system is growing among the masses but there is also a growing feeling of despair and fatalism. The masses have still to realize that only by taking up the struggle themselves can they be freed from poverty.

"The bourgeoisie can liquidate mass unemployment only in one way—through war. And the National-Socialists, too, want to embark on that way. Enlistment of the working people in military service, the mass destruction of people—that is your solution to mass unemployment. Certain advocates of the capitalist system of economy have declared that there are 20 million superfluous people in Germany who should be sent abroad or something else done with them. That 'something else' is war. The bourgeoisie hopes that it will be able to get rid of the

burden of mass unemployment through war; and you, too, keep reiterating that war will ensure work, that it will bring national liberation and much else in this vein propounded in your propaganda. But the German people realize only too well, as a result of the last war, what another world war would bring them: the monstrous physical mutilation of people, spiritual degeneration and unprecedented mass poverty. Such are the means whereby you propose to deliver the masses from poverty....

"You say that you want to free Germany from the pressure of the 'enemy powers.' But from the statements of your Führer it is quite obvious that you, too, are prepared, for the sake of gaining and holding power in Germany, to make concessions to the 'enemy powers'....

"So far the reports that have appeared in the National-Socialist papers have not been refuted—reports to the effect that during the secret meeting of the leadership in Kaiserhof (Berlin) to which also a representative of the British diplomatic corps was invited, Herr Hitler and Herr Rosenberg spoke of the need to establish friendly relations between Germany and England when the National-Socialists come to power. The crowning point of these relations is to be the conclusion of a defensive and offensive alliance. After the National-Socialists come to power the following proposals are to be made in London: Germany is prepared to forego her overseas trade, to give up her foreign markets which might compete with British goods, to sell all German goods for overseas countries through the British and British shipping. In return Great Britain is to pledge, first, to support Germany against France in political and commercial relations; secondly, jointly with Germany to take upon herself leadership of the system of anti-Bolshevik blocs which has as its aim the eradication of 'Bolshevism in Russia.' (*Cries from the Communists*: "*Hear that!*") Once that is achieved the Russian area will economically, commercially and politically come under the joint exploitation of Great Britain and Germany....

"The *Montag Morgen* has again published what has already been written about similar plans in Strasser's

paper *Die Schwarze Front*. All that has been said here is, as a matter of fact, the programme of the British oil magnate Deterding who is in very close financial relations with you. We quite understand that his support is not wholly disinterested. With your backing he hopes to put into effect the programme of smashing the Soviet Union and thus regain his oil monopoly....

"You are not a National-Socialist Workers' Party, you are a national-capitalist party. (*Cries from the Communist bench*: "*Hear, hear!*") For whose sake do you speak? The answer is simple enough: for the sake of the money the capitalists pay you, in other words, for the sake of safeguarding capitalism against the onslaught of the masses. (*Cries from the Communists*: "*Hear, hear!*") That is your job. That is what the capitalists are paying you for. That is why you have organized your storm troopers. Is there any other reason?...

"At the second session already you become excited when I say that sitting here among you are assassins of workers. I believe that the political assassination of workers is organized by your party. "(*Prolonged excited outcries by the National-Socialist deputies.*)

(*The Speaker's bell.*) The vice-president of the Landtag, Baumhoff, interrupting the orator: "First of all I would ask the House to be calm. Herr Deputy Pieck, I must call you to order. You have no right to say that any party organizes the assassination of workers." (*The excitement among the National-Socialist deputies continues for a while yet. There are outcries from the Communist bench.*)

"We, Communists, really want to help the masses to organize their struggle for higher wages and for bread, for land and liberty. It is for the sake of that that the united front of struggle is being formed under the leadership of the Communists. That is the only way to reach our goal which is freedom from hunger and want, and liberation from our own and foreign oppressors. Karl Liebknecht's words that the main enemy was right here in the country were never more true than they are today. That is why it is imperative to overthrow the German bourgeoisie if the workers

are to be freed from their foreign oppressors. (*Cries of "Bravo" from the Communists.*) Only in that way will the masses win political power, gain in strength as a result of their united will, acquire the means of production, land and natural wealth and thus have the possibility to create the good things of life in accordance with the requirements of the working people.

"This is the road the workers and peasants of Russia have been following for 15 years now. When they embarked on this road they had to contest with tremendous difficulties in the struggle against the internal counter-revolution and foreign interventionists. They smashed all their enemies inside the country and surmounting the many difficulties set about building a socialist society. That is how matters stand in the Soviet Union and none can refute it. Even the representatives of the bourgeoisie who are hostile to the working class cannot ignore and deny the fact that life is on the upsurge in the Soviet Union. In all the capitalist countries—whether Germany, the United States, France, or any other country—there is a slump, a decline in production, growing impoverishment of the working class. In the Soviet Union just the reverse is taking place. Production is on the upgrade, unemployment is a thing of the past. Nobody denies—and this is evident too from the criticism inside the U.S.S.R.—that the Soviet Union still has many difficulties to cope with. That is quite understandable. It could not be otherwise in a country that is surrounded by enemies. But the all-important thing is that the working people themselves are successfully tackling these difficulties, that these difficulties are being whittled down. Therein lies the decisive difference.

*"When we are accused of being in the service of Moscow the following should always be remembered: the Soviet Union is a state of workers. And if we are linked with this workers' state, we are not the only ones. The working people of the whole world are linked with this workers' state.**

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* Italics ours.

"We call upon the masses to fight against hunger and fascism and are confident that we, Communists, will wrest them from misery, want and poverty. In the joint struggle against capitalism, in the struggle to destroy the capitalist system we will rally all workers and office employees, the country's small handicraftsmen and poor peasants, all those who are shouldering the brunt of the present policy. Down with the capitalist governments! Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat! Long live a free socialist Germany!"

AUGUST 1, INTERNATIONAL ANTI-WAR DAY

For many years the working people of the world marked the anniversary of the beginning of the First World War, August 1, by holding mass anti war demonstrations. The war danger kindled in the twenties and thirties by the dark forces of imperialism was spearheaded against the Soviet Union. On August 1, which became known as International Anti-War Day, thousands of proletarians in East and West, North and South came out on to the streets to protest against the growth of militarism and the anti-Soviet machinations of the warmongers, and to demonstrate their solidarity with the Soviet people. The repressive measures by the bourgeois authorities who brought police truncheons, tear-gas and bullets into play against the demonstrators; the lies and slander spread by the reactionary trade-union bureaucrats and the Right Socialists who did everything to sow distrust and enmity in the masses towards the Soviet Union—all this was powerless to prevent the international solidarity of the working people in the struggle for peace and against the anti-Soviet plottings of the imperialists.

This solidarity, most strikingly evident on International Anti-War Day, was, notwithstanding the weaknesses of the anti-war movement of those years, one of the barriers in the way of the warmongers; it helped to prolong the peaceful respite of the Soviet people.

The scope and character of International Anti-War Day may be gauged by the following press reports of those years from different countries.

France

August 1, 1927, was marked throughout France as a "Day of protest against war." Demonstrations were held in a number of cities and rural districts. More than 20,000 signatures were collected to the petition demanding the repeal of war-time laws.

Uruguay

On August 1, 1929, more than 10,000 workers demonstrated in Montevideo. Carrying banners, placards and slogans and singing revolutionary songs the demonstrators marched through the main streets of the city which was guarded on all sides by police and troops. One of the slogans at the mass meeting held that day was an appeal to organize a collection to purchase an army plane for Soviet defence needs. This slogan was unanimously supported. The participants of the demonstration also unanimously decided to call a general strike on August 23, Sacco and Vanzetti memorial day, under the slogan: "In defence of the U.S.S.R! Against imperialism and war!"

Australia

On August 1, 1930, a mass anti-war demonstration was held in Adelaide. The workers marched through the main streets of the city and then on to South Australia Government House where they demanded to be received by the Premier. Police attacked the demonstrators who offered vigorous resistance. The mounted police who were sent as reinforcements had difficulty in dispersing the workers.

India

On August 1, 1932, a big anti-war meeting of nearly a thousand metal-and textile-workers, called by the Revolutionary Workers' Party of India, was held in Calcutta.

The meeting adopted a protest resolution against the preparations for a new imperialist war against the Soviet Union. The resolution expresses its solidarity with the working class of the U.S.S.R. and pledges to give them every assistance.

* * *

Documents of the twenties and thirties reflecting the working people's struggle against the war danger and in defence of the Soviet Union against the plotting of the aggressors include a number of interesting pamphlets, issued in leaflet form since the ordinary press, the property of the capitalists, was, naturally, closed to them.

"There is only one country from which there is no danger of an imperialist war. There is only one country in which the workers need not fear being sent to the battlefields to give their lives for capitalist profits. That is Soviet Russia...."

This was the opening passage of a leaflet issued by the Communist (Workers') Party of America, calling on the masses to fight against the danger of a new imperialist war.

"Why do they need a war against the U.S.S.R?" was the question asked by one of the Polish May Day leaflets of that period. The answer was:

The bourgeoisie is looking for a way out of the crisis in an offensive of capital and in war.

"War!" cries the landlord so that he might sell his grain and cattle at a higher price.

"War!" cries the manufacturer so that he might acquire new markets.

"War!" cries the banker so that he might grow richer in speculations.

"War!" cries this trinity so that millions of starving proletarians, the unruly and mutinous, might kill one another and rot in the trenches.

"War!" cry the bourgeoisie together with their politicians, trade-union bureaucrats, professors and priests so that they might crush that "impudent" Land of Soviets which "dared" to overthrow the power of the capitalists, to sweep out the class of landlords, and which

now "dares" to build socialism in defiance of decaying capitalism.

War is being prepared against the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union because they are building socialism while capitalism is decaying and rotting, because by their example they are showing the workers and peasants of the capitalist countries the revolutionary way out of the crisis, the way to a world October.

IN THE NAME OF TRUTH

Theodore Dreiser, the renowned American writer, repeatedly came out in defence of the Soviet Union and combated slander and misinformation.

Passionately seeking the prosperity of his native America and the well-being of his people Dreiser was, as he put it, grateful to the Soviet Revolution for being the first to raise sharply on a world scale the question of the haves and have-nots, for starting in 1917 the great crusade in defence of the have-nots. He saw the fruits of the October Socialist Revolution not only in the outstanding achievements of the Soviet people but also in the social gains won by the working people of the capitalist countries after the October Revolution.

Dreiser wrote that in the United States a forty-hour week, a minimum wage, attempts to plan agriculture had become pressing issues from 1917 despite the disruption of traditional American democracy by the gold bag aristocracy and its hired agents. He queried whence came the sudden interest in socialism in a democratic country which in 1914 had not differed much, as far as its democracy was concerned, even from Germany or tsarist Russia, and he replied that the Bolsheviks and the October Revolution were responsible for it.

And those whom Dreiser called the "imperialist minority" could not forgive the new world, brought into being by the October Revolution, for this.

After the collapse of the intervention and the blockade the agents of capital and hired liars, to cite Dreiser, prepared and started a real war against the Soviet Union, placing it under the constant fire of slanderous propaganda.

Theodore Dreiser wrathfully exposed the calumny of the anti-Soviet defamers.

To quote one of his speeches, published in 1940:

"...I am strong and for the past 23 years have been for a better understanding by Americans on the nature and purposes of the Soviet Union. During all of this time our capitalistic crew, strong for unlimited wealth and privilege for a few against a decent life for the many, have fought through a controlled press, controlled schools and universities, controlled banks, legislature, politicians and courts—to say nothing of their more recently controlled moving pictures—radio, courts, Chambers of Commerce, etc., to withhold from the American people not only the truth as to the purposes and achievements of that Union, but to establish as facts in the minds of all Americans truly infamous lies concerning the same.

"How to overcome this is the problem of thousands and even hundreds of thousands of liberty- and equity-minded Americans who know and could show, had they a free press or radio, that Russia today—and it alone among the nations of the world—represents the true interest of the masses—their real mental as well as economic advancement and peace. All else is a mad scramble for money and power by a mere handful of moneyed and greed-stricken tricksters, who are so stupid mentally as to imagine that money—mere tokens of wealth piled in banks and their vaults in the form of stocks and bonds or other tokens—somehow provides them a dignity and credit that alone belongs, and under a decent social system would, to the genuinely creative minds, the thinkers and inventors and creators of all the ages of the past.

"It is these and these alone who have never sought luxury or power or show, or ease for themselves as against the welfare of others but, vice versa, have been happy and honoured to provide the really great things that have

advanced the world—its inventions, discoveries, systems of education, its sculptures, architectures, poetry, music, paintings and all else that had made life pleasing, beautiful, entertaining, comfortable. However the fight is on. The world has one sound, strong and unterrified illustration of what common equity or social decency in life can do—the Soviet Union—and that illustration is not passing or dying. And America in some black hours that now appear not too far distant will come to know the truth and in that truth will join in cooperative friendship with the Soviet Union in order to preserve and advance the principles which our American Constitution—the leaders and thinkers it represents, sought, however dimly, to outline and make real."

IN THE TEETH OF SAVAGE TERROR

In the thirties Hungary, in the words of the poet Andor Gabor, was a "bloody pub" where "the red blood of proletarians was spilled by the pint," where "there were not enough lashes, chains and ropes." Horthy and his henchmen were haunted by the fear that the Hungarian Soviet Republic would be restored. To stave this off ter ror was unleashed in the country.

But no terror could shake the confidence of the Hungarian people in the Soviet Union, their militant solidarity with the builders of socialism. This steadfast belief in the Soviet Union gave courage to millions and inspired them in the struggle for their liberation.

Among the materials of the Institute of the Labour Movement in Budapest are some very eloquent documents relating to that period. In a political report, dated January 12, 1920, about the mood of the workers at the machine-building plant of the Hungarian state railways we read that "they rejoice at the victories of the Russian Bolshevik army." "There is talk," states another report, dated July 12 of the same year, "that the Russian Red Army will be here soon and that then short shrift will be made of the counts and the magnates." On De-

cember 29, 1920, a Horthy agent reported that the steel-workers, wood-workers and printers are "expecting a great deal, particularly of the much publicized spring offensive of the Russo-Soviet army."

An expression of the warm sentiments of the Hungarian working people for the Soviet Union was the wonderful demonstration in Budapest on September 1, 1930. The Social-Democrats had planned it as a silent, sedate procession along the streets. But under the leadership of the Communists and the slogans: "Long live the Soviet Union!", "Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!", the "wordless procession" grew into a revolutionary demonstration of the masses. Barricades appeared on the streets.

On November 11, 1931, a group of workers of the enamelware factory celebrated the anniversary of the October Revolution, even though martial law had been instituted. Assembling at the end of the day they held a short meeting in front of the factory gates. Red banners appeared, slogans were called out in honour of the Soviet Union. The meeting soon turned into a big demonstration which was joined by all passers-by.

The friendly feelings of the ordinary people of Hungary for the Soviet Union found expression also in the great popularity of Soviet broadcasts in the Hungarian language. One of the secret police informers in Nádudvar wrote in his report (1931): "The rumour has been spread among the workers that on March 15 in the daytime the Soviets will be transmitting a propaganda broadcast in the Hungarian language. A large number of farm labourers have come even from the surrounding farmsteads to hear this broadcast." Another police report (1934) states: "It has been established in Keszthely that Communists gather in the evenings and listen in to the propaganda broadcasts of the Moscow communist radio in the German and Hungarian languages, that they write down these broadcasts for study purposes." In a report from the village of Gyöngyöstarján we read that it was "the headquarters of a group listening in to the Soviet propaganda broadcasts. The group also maintained contact with Gyön-

gyös and Nagyreder. The radio set was purchased on pooled contributions. The broadcasts were written down and circulated."

An eloquent expression of the fraternal relations between the Soviet and Hungarian peoples in the thirties was the decision of the Soviet Government to return to the Government of Hungary the banners of the liberation struggle of 1848 which had been captured by the troops of Nicholas I. This friendly act was of course addressed to the freedom-loving Hungarian people and not to its reactionary government. Much as he disliked it, Horthy could not but accept. The Hungarian people fully appreciated the real meaning of the Soviet gesture and turned the occasion into a real political demonstration.

On that memorable morning when the banners arrived in Budapest a bitter March wind was blowing. But that was no deterrent to the people who came out en masse to stand with heads bared along the entire route over which the banners were carried. This voluntary guard of honour conclusively showed that the flame of freedom had not died in the hearts of millions of Hungarians. An orchestra played the national anthems of Hungary and the Soviet Union. To hear the Soviet anthem in Budapest was truly a red-letter day for thousands of its people.

The warm sympathy of the Hungarian working people for the Soviet Union was again graphically demonstrated at the World Fair in Budapest in May 1941. The Soviet pavilion was literally besieged by thousands of people who stood in long queues for hours waiting to get in. And once inside they were loath to leave the pavilion where they would linger looking at the many exhibits that gave a picture of life and work in the socialist state. People eagerly bought up the guide-books of the exhibition on the cover of which was written in gold lettering: "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics...." And the police informers thrown into confusion frenziedly scurried back and forth.

OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S REFLECTIONS IN AN ENGLISH PRISON....

Throughout the world the ranks of the friends of the U.S.S.R. swelled and multiplied despite the frenzied efforts of hypocritical and lying imperialist propaganda to stem the tide.

Jawaharlal Nehru, that outstanding political figure of our day, in his *An Autobiography* written by him in prison where he had been confined by the British colonizers, recalling the thirties, wrote:

"While the rest of the world was in the grip of the depression and going backward in some ways, in the Soviet country a great new world was being built up before our eyes. Russia, following the great Lenin, looked into the future and thought only of what was to be, while other countries lay numbed under the dead hand of the past and spent their energy in preserving the useless relics of a bygone age. In particular, I was impressed by the reports of the great progress made by the backward regions of Central Asia under the Soviet regime. In the balance, therefore, I was all in favour of Russia and the presence and example of the Soviets was a bright and heartening phenomenon in a dark and dismal world."

BATTLE IN THE COURT-ROOM

On March 20, 1940, in Paris there began the trial of the communist deputies of parliament. These true patriots of France who had steadfastly and vigorously fought against the Munich policy of "appeasement" of the fascist aggressors and for the establishment of a united front of all democratic states to repulse the warmongers were charged with ... high treason. One of the main charges in the indictment was the circulation of a letter which allegedly "called for peace under the aegis of the Soviet

Union," the actual text of this letter having been deliberately distorted by the government.

The deputies faced their trial with dignity and honour, unflinchingly upholding their convictions and the policy of their party. In a letter received by them already after the defeat of France in prison in Algiers, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of France, Maurice Thorez, wrote: "We did not fight in vain. We were right in defending the policy of the Soviet Union. We were the only ones who took a stand that conformed to the interests of the French people...."

The battle in the court-room is vividly described by Florimond Bonte in his book *The Road of Honour* from which we give some excerpts. A member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, Florimond Bonte, was one of the deputies up for trial in 1940.

"...Today is the crucial day. We are in our places in the dock. The gendarmes have taken up their positions. They know us very well by now—they've been with us since March 21, and today is already April 3. They've had the opportunity to be present from the very beginning. At first they followed the course of the proceedings with attention, then with interest and in the end with disquiet. Beginning with March 21 they accompanied us daily from Santé prison to the court-room and back. The gendarme attached to each of the accused was always one and the same.

"At first, filled with mistrust and prejudice engendered by the disgusting campaign of lies and slander, they treated us with reserve, going about their duties impassively and formally. But little by little they began to see for themselves that we were people worthy of respect. There was not a single one among them who did not express the wish that we would be acquitted and released.

"What will the sentence be, after all? From the opposite side of the room the court and government commissars enter the hall. The guards stand to attention. The accused and the counsels for the defence stand up. The presiding judge addresses the court. All sit down. Solemn silence reigns.

"The presiding judge bends to the right and to the left, whispers something to his neighbours. He then turns to us and says:

"'The accused may take the stand....'

"François Billoux raises his hand.

"'You may speak,' motions the presiding judge.

"François Billoux gets up. He will speak for all of us, and everything he will say is the fruit of deep reflection; it was all discussed, weighed and decided upon jointly...

"He is speaking. Our lips move, our hearts beat.

"'...What are we accused of? Of having formed a parliamentary group, in accordance with the rules of the Chamber, and of having written a letter as deputies to the president of the Chamber demanding the convocation of parliament to debate the question of peace.

"'That is why, we are told, we have been arrested and put on trial.

"'The sending of the letter as also the formation of the group are protected by the complete immunity and inviolability of person of elected representatives of the nation (Article 13 of the 1875 Constitution). As deputies we had every right, and what is more, were in duty bound to write the said letter.

"'Furthermore, a diplomatic document, the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, was arbitrarily advanced as the reason for the wide campaign of persecution against the Communists. We were persuaded to denounce the Soviet Union for concluding that pact and since we refused to comply with that peculiar and unprecedented demand, retaliatory measures were taken against us.

"'For six months now we have been persecuted and this persecution is being justified on the grounds of our refusal to accept the government's point of view on the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. It was said that we have allegedly transgressed against French interests. The French people were expected to believe that this was why we were brought to trial.

"'We here and now assert that this version is a shameless lie. We here and now declare that the government itself as much as admitted this lie in the document published

in the Yellow Book on page 170, under No. 149. This document is entitled: "Recording of the Talk Between Foreign Minister Georges Bonnet and the German Ambassador in Paris, Count Welczeck."

"'This document is dated July 1, 1939. At that time there was no question about the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, just as there was no question of whether the Communists approve of it or not. On July 1, two months before this pact was signed, and when the French Government was engaged in talks with Moscow, it declared in an official document that its policy would be to keep the Communists in check. So you might just as well reject the false pretexts, the wily devices, the underhand knavery, and stop advancing as a reason what is simply a pretext. Stop fulminating against us because of the stand taken by us at the end of August and in September 1939. The campaign against the Communists, as admitted by those who started it, was planned already on July 1.

"'We were arrested and tried because we are Communists, because we have remained Communists in spite of the demands, threats and reprisals.

"'We are being tried because we have vigorously come out against the criminal policy of our rulers, a policy detrimental to our country; because we call upon the people to insist that this policy be rejected, because we are showing the French people the way to a free and happy France.

"'No persecution, no sentences, no concentration camps will deter the Communists from carrying out this lofty and humane task....

"'We were the first in the country to point out the danger of fascism to world peace. It was the Communist Party which vehemently denounced Nazism to the French people. We always have been and will continue to be the most implacable enemies of fascism in all its forms.

"'For years we have been saying to the French Government: either you will try to save the peace and the independence of the country by uniting all peoples of good will in Europe, or you will frustrate these efforts and war will be unleashed. And it is you who will be responsible

for the war which you did not want to avert and which will engulf the whole world. And all because you place defence of capitalist privileges above concern for the peace and the independence of the people.

"'It is such a war that is today laying waste to unhappy Europe. Responsibility for this is borne by the capitalist regime about which Jean Jaurès had said that it "carries within itself war like the cloud carries thunder...."

"'It is the agreements signed in Rome by Laval and approved by the leaders of the French Socialist Party which gave Mussolini a free hand to crush hapless Abyssinia.* The Communists were the only ones to speak up against these agreements which carried within themselves the embryo of a new war.

"'Blum, the leader of the French Socialist Party, pursuing the criminal policy of "non-intervention" helped the rebel general Franco, a puppet of Hitler and Mussolini and an enemy of France, to destroy the Spanish Republic. The Communists were the only ones who came out in defence of that friendly democratic republic.

"'Chautemps allowed Hitler to seize Austria, a member of the League of Nations. Daladier handed over to Hitler another member of the League of Nations—Czechoslovakia—together with its natural resources, army, fortifications, military supplies and defence plants. And all the time Daladier and other Munich men kept repeating that "peace is saved." The Communists were the only ones to declare: "The Munich betrayal means war."

"'It is now clear to all what the London and Paris governments were plotting at the time of Munich and after. They tried to come to an agreement with Hitler Germany by pushing it into war against the Soviet Union. By pursuing this policy they supported the Warsaw Government—which only recently had still been an ally of Hitler and an accomplice to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia—in its refusal to permit Soviet troops to pass through the territory of Poland.

* The agreements referred to were signed in Rome in January 1935 by Laval and Mussolini, sanctioning Italy's seizure of Abyssinia.

"'The rejection of the Soviet proposals jettisoned the Moscow talks. This rejection killed all chances of concluding an Anglo-Franco-Soviet pact which alone could have saved the peace....

"'Like the imperialists of the whole world the French imperialists hate the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with a deadly hatred. This is not difficult to understand. Their hatred of the U.S.S.R. is the hatred of a class threatened. To the French people the Soviet Union is a graphic example of what a people can do that has freed itself of parasites.

"'The Soviet Union has upset the plans of the French and British capitalists. All their attempts to set Germany against the U.S.S.R. and to place the former at the head of the "crusade" against the Soviet Union have ended in failure so far.

"'The countries in the north-eastern part of Europe, and particularly Finland, could be living in peace and tranquillity if the clique of adventurers who just a short while ago were the allies of the German generals and who now have the support of the London and Washington banks had not taken upon themselves the initiative to bring about the tragic developments in that part of the continent.

"'We are not deceived by the criminal adventure being planned. It is all too obvious that a "crusade" is being prepared. We know that even though the national interests of France were not in the least affected by the Soviet Union's policy in Finland, the French imperialists hoped instead of the "phony war" in the West, that is, the ineffective war against Hitler, to launch wide intervention against the U.S.S.R. Since this operation failed in Finland they are now trying to repeat it in the Balkans and the Near East.

"'To facilitate matters it was decided to vilify and convict us. The government, however, might do well to be more careful. If it attempts to realize its dream of aggression against the U.S.S.R., if it attempts to repeat the "exploit" of the interventionists, which has already caused France so much harm, its very regime might perish as a result of this undertaking.

"'It calls for a lot of insolence and cynicism indeed on the part of the international imperialists and their hirelings who receive money for their treachery to accuse the Communists of corruption. They know only too well that devotion and self-negation are intrinsic in the Communist Party and that it is precisely the honesty of our Party which none can deny that glaringly exposes their own corruption....

"'We love France and the finest thing about her—the French people.

"'We are proud of our scientists, scholars, writers, and artists who have won their country the love of the world.

"'Throughout their history and their magnificent revolutionary past the people of France have always risen up against tyranny. Isn't it that we sing of in a couplet of the *Marseillaise* which the capitalists are trying so hard to prevent the children of the people from knowing? We don't want to be the slaves of Hitler, the vassals of Chamberlain, the servants of Mussolini....

"'We, Communists, call upon the people to fight for bread, for liberty, for peace. Yes, we are Communists! We are proud to be the heirs of the Communards who sacrificed themselves to save the republic, who fought for the liberation of the working people, who "stormed heaven" as Karl Marx put it.

"'Communism means the peaceful development of all human talents, the development of science and literature, the blossoming of civilization.

"'We are Frenchmen and that is why we are fighting for a free, strong and happy France.

"'We are internationalists and that is why we regard every victory of the proletariat, no matter the country, as our own victory....

"'We have faith in the French people and we are confident that it will very soon bury the capitalist system which bears the responsibility for poverty and war. Long live a free France! Long live a happy and strong France! Long live peace! Forward, to communism!'

"François Billoux has finished his speech. The presiding

judge again addresses the accused: 'Does any one else of the accused want to speak?'

"Silence. The court withdraws to consider the motion of our lawyers to dismiss the case on the grounds of lack of evidence.

"Back in the room the court announces that it has rejected the motion and immediately afterwards declares the session adjourned. The next session will be after lunch.

"The presiding judge gives the order to lead us away. We will not return to the court-room again.

"Sitting in a small rectangular room we wait for four hours to hear the sentence that will be passed.... Four long hours of anxious waiting. Four hours! Why is the tribunal so long in session? Is there any hope in spite of everything? Is it at all possible that this evening we will be back home again in the circle of our beloved ones, in the circle of our most devoted friends?

"Once again, after many months of separation to see our dear ones and then back again to the struggle in the name of the defence of the interests of the working class, the people, France, in the name of our ideals!

"From time to time we fall silent. In our fancy we see ourselves free. Common sense, however, quickly recalls us to reality. There is no democracy, no liberty in France today, only lawlessness and arbitrary rule. We must, therefore, be prepared for the worst.

"I am thinking about my dear ones. A bitter and cruel lot awaits them, and all because I have remained honest.

"It would have been enough for me to utter just one word, one word that goes against my convictions as a Communist and patriot and I would have been surrounded with flattery, my family would have had no cause for anxiety for the future or the present. But they would have stopped to love me. They would have had nothing but contempt for me, nothing but a feeling of indignation and wrath. I would have lost the trust of my constituents and my friends and the respect of all honest people, even those of them who are my political opponents. I could never have done that.

"Suddenly rumours reach us that the court has returned. They are reading the sentence. Soon we will know it, know our fate. The minutes drag. In the silence of the cell it seems like long, weary hours. However, the lieutenant in command of the guard appears in the doorway leading to the court-room.

"We are called into a narrow room, three at a time. Seated at a table are the captain, the secretary of the court, his two assistants, there are also several armed soldiers about. The sentence is read to us. It is my turn. I am called out together with François Billoux and Gaston Cornavin. I listen impassively.

"I have been sentenced to five years' imprisonment, fined 5,000 francs and deprived of civil and political rights for five years.

"Maurice Thorez, Jacques Duclos, Gaston Monmousseau, Arthur Ramette, Charles Tillon, Gabriel Péri, Emile Dutilleul, Albert Rigal, and Jean Catelas have also been sentenced to five years' imprisonment, fined 5,000 francs and deprived of all civil and political rights for five years.

"All together we have been sentenced to 212 years' imprisonment and fined a total of more than two million francs.

"We return to Santé prison. I sit next to the driver. I can see the street through the door that is slightly open. The number of armed motorcyclists convoying the lorry has been doubled.

"The motorcyclist at the head loudly sounds his horn to clear the way. All traffic on our route stops.

"There is a brief halt in front of the prison gates when the lorry has to back. In the crowd milling round the police inspectors I catch a glimpse of my daughter Marguerite. I make a sign with my hand. She sees me and smiles. My heart starts beating fast.

"I carry this smile with me to my cell, the smile of a daughter proud of her father."

Chapter Seven

FRIENDS OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLANS

The year 1929, which brought economic chaos to the United States of America and served as the beginning of an unprecedented, drawn-out world economic crisis, later termed the "great crisis" by American writers, went down in Soviet history as a Year of a Great Change. It was the first year of the First Five-Year Plan and was marked by outstanding achievements in every field of the national economy, achievements which did away forever with the former economic backwardness and were characteristic of the swift and mighty tempo adopted by Soviet people determined to progress rapidly.

The First Soviet Five-Year Plan was fulfilled in only four years and three months. It was followed by a Second Five-Year Plan, and then a third, which, however, was cut short by the outbreak of war. In all, there were merely thirteen years of peaceful labour during these first five-year plans. However, in content and in the effect they had on the lives of the Soviet people and the peoples of the world, they were more important than many a century. One need only imagine what would have happened to humanity had the five-year plans not produced the armaments that later opposed the Nazi war machine.

During those thirteen years the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, were able to completely overcome the centuries-old backwardness they had inherited

from tsarist Russia. From the time of the Roman Empire no other nation in the world ever experienced such frequent, long-lasting and destructive foreign invasions as did this wealthy country and its talented, hard-working peoples. Russian industry began to develop much later than that of other European countries; serfdom, a most despicable and terrible throw-back to the Middle Ages, was in force until 1861; the country was run by ignorant officials working hand in hand with avaricious businessmen and landowners. V. I. Lenin said that old, pre-Soviet Russia was an unbelievably backward country, with four times less technical equipment than Great Britain's, five times less than Germany's, and ten times less than America's. Industrial output, and, consequently, the standard of living, was far below nearly every country of Europe; in this respect Russia could only be favourably compared to colonial or semi-colonial countries. By the end of the Second Five-Year Plan (April 1, 1937), the Soviet Union had overtaken Great Britain, Germany, and France, becoming the most powerful industrial nation in Europe, second only to the United States. As a result of the five-year plans the U.S.S.R. became one of the mightiest industrial nations with an ever-mounting tempo of industrial development.

During the period from 1840 to 1860, a period of rapid economic development in the U.S.A. which American historians refer to as the "Golden Age," the output of the manufacturing industry increased nearly fourfold. This was achieved in twenty years. During the thirteen pre-war years of five-year plans, the gross output of the U.S.S.R. increased six and a half times; in comparison with pre-revolutionary figures, this was an increase of eight and a half times. This was done without a golden rainfall of credits which paid for the development of American industry, without machinery being imported on a mass scale, which was also characteristic of the era of American industrialization.

The era of the first five-year plans was a time of great change, for this was a time of the development and consolidation of the first socialist society ever to exist,

The advantages of a planned socialist economy based on common ownership of the means and tools of production soon became apparent. This was why the economic development of the Soviet Union has always proceeded and continues at present along an ascending line, without slumps, depressions, or unemployment, those constant companions of capitalism even in its best periods. It is a well-known fact that during 80 years of rapid economic development in the past century, there were at least ten crises in the advanced capitalist countries which brought untold suffering to the peoples of the world. The socialist nature of the great changes that took place in the U.S.S.R. during the first five-year plans accounted for the indissoluble link between industrial and agricultural development, a rise in the living standard and in the cultural development of the people, and mass housing and cultural construction.

This notable progress in socialist construction in the Soviet Union was made under the leadership of the Communist Party and its Central Committee, in which J. Stalin played the leading role.

Socialist industrialization in the U.S.S.R. showed the world the full creative powers of a free Soviet people. In their determination to establish their own heavy industry, the basis of any modern economy, thousands of workers became heroes of the labour front. The great masses would recognize no obstacles in their way, nor would they slow down their swift forward movement. While creating gigantic plants and building projects in the wilderness on time-schedules which seemed virtually impossible to foreign observers, Soviet workers were also solving one of the most complicated problems of industrialization—that of mastering new techniques and organizing new branches of industry. They did not merely assimilate existing technical knowledge, they kept pressing ever onward, blazing new paths in world technical progress.

Thousands of foreign workers and specialists laboured side by side with the millions of working people of the U.S.S.R. at the construction sites and enterprises dur-

ing the first five-year plan periods. Some of these people came to the Soviet Union out of a sincere and friendly desire to help the people achieve the great changes that were planned. Others, far from any political motives, as they themselves said, were given contracts and came for specific periods of time, yet the great majority of these men soon became as enthusiastic about the projects as were the Soviet people working with them. Even the most indifferent hearts were fired with the spirit of the magnificence of the goals and plans of a people building socialism.

Americans and Germans, Yugoslavs, Czechs, and Britons, skilled workers and specialists of many nations have contributed to the labour victories of the first five-year plans. The Soviet people treasure this contribution greatly.

"THE BEST DAYS OF MY LIFE"

(Reminiscences of Hans Klemm, a German worker)

Towards the end of April 1930, several dozen German construction workers, including myself, left Berlin, Halle, and Hamburg for the Soviet Union.

We knew that the Soviet people had started working with enthusiasm for the impressive goals of the First Five-Year Plan. We had been witnesses to daily attacks on the Soviet Union in the capitalist press; it made fun of and belittled the Five-Year Plan, calling it a propaganda trick, wishful thinking, etc. We were young proletarians convinced of the superiority of the new way of life called socialism, which was being built for the first time in history in the Land of Soviets. We were eager to join in this great undertaking, adding the fruits of our labour to the industrialization of the nation of workers and peasants, and together with our brother-proletarians of the U.S.S.R. "thumb our noses," as the saying goes, at the gentlemen of the reactionary press, and not so much at them as at their bosses.

In a word, we were excited and happy as we started out for the U.S.S.R. We wondered what it would be like there. After all, it was a strange country and a strange language. But we were met so warmly that we never had a chance to feel we were in a foreign country, we felt we were among close friends.

I first worked in Kountsevo, near Moscow. I was given a group of Soviet apprentices and we began to teach each other: they taught me the language, the ways and the customs, and I taught them how to build. I must add that they found it much easier to learn the trade than I did to learn Russian.

I was soon transferred to the building site of the First Ball-Bearing Plant. I worked as a team leader and at times as a foreman.

Our brigade was one of the first shock brigades. By 1932 we were overfulfilling our plan by 183 per cent.

We challenged Kuzmin's brigade to compete with us. All the workers kept posted on the results of our heated competition. The factory paper kept a day-to-day record of how things were in Klemm's brigade and how things were in Kuzmin's brigade. Later a pamphlet entitled "Klemm's Brigade and Kuzmin's Brigade" was issued, summing up the results of our work and the way in which we helped each other, while both working towards the same goal. I remember that at the time our whole brigade was given vacations at the Zvenigorod Rest Home near Moscow.

The First Ball-Bearing Plant, a vital necessity for the development of socialist industry, was built several months ahead of schedule. It was possible to complete the enormous modern plant so successfully because the workers of Moscow, led by the Communist Party, took an active part in building it. One could always find volunteers from among the local population donating their free hours to "Marbles," as they fondly called the plant; they worked together zealously as a team, and I would say they really felt they owned the plant.

We Germans were happy to work together with the Soviet people in an atmosphere of national enthusiasm

and felt that our modest labour was going into the foundation of socialism.

Later, I worked on many Moscow buildings, including the monumental one opposite the Moskva Hotel.

In 1934 I was cited for good work and given a bonus trip down the Volga to Astrakhan and back. There were a hundred shock workers of many nationalities on board the *Komsomolets* for the pleasure cruise. It was a wonderful trip!

At that time the Land of Soviets was still a poor country, and it took very strict budgeting and the mobilization of all their energies and resources to create new and modern industries. No one thought of his own personal needs, but, rather, of the speedy construction of their own heavy industry, of changing the backward economy of the huge country into an advanced one. No one felt down-hearted at the temporary lack of commodities; they felt they were building for themselves and for their descendants, that they were laying the foundation of their future well-being and happiness.

I always think of those days as the best days of my life, and not only because those were the days of my youth.

1931. THE STALINGRAD TRACTOR PLANT

The Stalingrad Tractor Plant, built and set working during the First Five-Year Plan, was the first large, modern machine-building factory in the Soviet Union. Most of the plant's workers were youths just off the farm. Under the most difficult conditions, the new workers quickly acquired the knowledge and skill necessary for mass assembly-line production.

Only two tractors were assembled during thirteen days of June, 1930, and five in July, but by October the Stalingrad Plant was producing 48 tractors a month. By the end of 1931 it was producing one hundred tractors a day and soon reached the scheduled ceiling—150 tractors daily. Sergo Orjonikidze was present at the opening cer-

emonies and later recalled the anxiety on the workers' faces as they watched the first tractors come off the conveyor. "It could be compared to a scene of a man awaiting the birth of his first child. He is torn by worry, joy, and fear. Such were the workers standing there by the conveyor and waiting for the first tractor to come off."

American specialists worked side by side with their Soviet colleagues on the building and launching of the Stalingrad Tractor Plant. The following excerpts from Ilya Scheinman's book *What I Saw in America, What I Did in the U.S.S.R.* (published in 1934) create a vivid picture of the times. The author was a superintendent of the forge shop at the Stalingrad Tractor Plant.

"Yesin, who worked at the processing of the differential crown, asked to be transferred to the crankshaft.

"Once there, he was apprenticed to an American named Hartman.

"Hartman didn't look like a smith. He was broad and stocky, wore horn-rimmed glasses, had a goatee and resembled a doctor or a banker more than a smith. He grew the goatee in Russia, as he considered it quite the proper thing here. He is noisy and energetic and won't let anyone come near the forging hammer. He yells at the repair workers, at the foremen, and at the workers, gesticulating wildly and always on the go.

"Until this time Hartman and his relief-man, an American named Barger, who was no slimmer than his friend, were in charge of crankshaft production. For several days they were busy training the new workers and worked the press only to show them how it was done. Yesin watched their every movement.

"Barger is good-natured and laughs a lot. He is a large man, an Indian by descent, though there's nothing Indian left about him. He looks like a real American. He uses snuff mixed with a cheap Russian tobacco instead of chewing a plug of tobacco. Barger is calm and doesn't move around as much as Hartman; occasionally he goes over to a worker to correct him. He is very conscientious about everything the workers of his brigade do.

"Another American, Burgoyne, is an entirely different type of person. He's tall and obese and likes to take frequent breaks during the day. He's a good, conscientious worker, but he's used to constant supervision. However, we don't have too much supervision here, and Burgoyne takes advantage of it. But he's a good worker and can make practically any kind of forgings.

"Luke works in the forge shop, he's a real beaver, always dissatisfied, and he always has a hundred suggestions; he rushes into my office or grabs hold of me in the shop and then begins to rattle away in my ear, telling me all his grievances. He chews tobacco too, but instead of a plug he bites off pieces from a cigar.

"Blakelock works in the tool-stamping shop. He's one of the best workers and really knows his business. He can read blueprints, knows the smithy and the various presses very well. He has a lot of experience in designing all kinds of forgings. He's a noisy, excitable man, and he talks so fast that none of his fellow-Americans can understand him the first time.

"In all, there are seventeen Americans in the tool-stamping shop. Three of them are first-class workers: Blakelock, Pride, who knows the work standards well, and Ball, who can stamp any part. The other American specialists will not be around for a long time more. We are taking them off production work and transferring them to instructor's jobs, training our own workers who can already stamp parts and know the workings of the machines.

"We are training 30 per cent of the Kharkov Tractor Plant stampers besides our own workers. In the near future we expect a large contingent of apprentice workers from the Gorky Auto Plant and the Moscow Auto Plant. This interferes with our training programme, as we find we must constantly shift the Kharkov workers from one shop to another in order to give them a good working knowledge of the various types of forgings. But we don't mind this.

"With each passing day Yesin is becoming more and more of an expert stamper. Standing next to the hammer, he looks like a real smith; after two weeks he received his first bonus for producing 36 crankshafts in a shift.

"Two months later he received his second bonus for 50 crankshafts in a shift.

"Hartman says that that's the ceiling.

"'We make a hundred in a shift in America; that means fifty in Russia.'

"'Why?' he himself asked and answered his own question by saying: 'There's no meat, no white bread, no gloves, no shoes.'

"And true enough, we were stuck at the figure 50 for a whole month.

"Then a new type of forging was suggested. We tried a round rod, lighter than the square one we had been using. Yesin learned to stamp the round metal pieces. Ball was the instructor at the time and he said that a crankshaft could be made in one operation.

"That very day Ball showed him how to do it. Yesin was his helper. Ball inserted the end of the metal rod beneath the hammer, Yesin adjusted it. Ball didn't work, he seemed to be toying with the hammer; each movement was accurate and rhythmical. In eight strokes the crankshaft was ready. Yesin did the last stroke to insure the accuracy. Meanwhile, Ball raised the furnace door. While the crankshaft was being carried to the rack, another worker pulled another red-hot rod from the furnace. As the two workers returned from the rack, they grabbed up the hot rod and placed it under the hammer. This increased the tempo of work and the output began to rise accordingly.

"Yesin lost no time. He was directing each of the nine workers in his team.

"The output rose to 70, then 80, then 100, and, finally, 105 crankshafts a shift.

"In March 1931, while competing with Kovalyov's team, Yesin was awarded his third bonus for reaching the American average.

"Kubasov and Dolotov work at the other 12,000 kilogram hammer. They are competing for the highest production record for front axles. Dolotov is a twenty-year-old Komsomol. He has already served as a volunteer in the army and worked as a longshoreman. He's only been at the plant for a short time, yet he's an excellent worker.

"Kubasov is another good worker. He's tall and straight and his figure resembles the long straight axles he makes. As you watch him work, you realize the hammer obeys his every movement. Following the rhythm of the hammer, he raises the front or rear part of the hot rod. His helper barely has time to clean the press of cinders.

"The work proceeds rhythmically, the output increases daily. The front-axle team has overtaken the crankshaft team, producing 100, 120, and, finally, 130 axles a shift.

"Thus, the American norms for front axles have also been reached and overtaken, as have been those for the production of camshafts.

"We decided to celebrate the occasion of overtaking America in every type of forge product. That evening we had a banquet for the engineers, technical personnel, and the best workers of the forge shop.

"I opened the meeting by saying that good work of Communists and Komsomols made it possible for us to compete with American production methods.

"Galushkin, a former Red Partisan, spoke after I did. He's a skilled operator of a swaging machine, though he hasn't been at the trade long; despite his advanced years he didn't feel ashamed at learning a new trade. He spoke about the new generation of young workers who are interested in the minutest details of the new production methods. He compared his work in the shop with his active service during the Civil War and was so overcome with emotion that he had to leave the stage.

"Yakovlev, a young foreman and Komsomol, was next to speak.

"'The main goal of the forge shop where I work is to master the technique of producing connecting-rods. At present there's a lot of spoilage: they're either too long or too short. But we Komsomols won't let you down, we'll keep at it until we've mastered the production.'

"He was very nervous while he spoke and finally, without having finished what he had intended to say, he too left the stage. As he walked away he turned round and repeated: 'The Komsomols won't let you down.'

"He took his place beside me on the dais and whispered:

"'I hate to make speeches. I'd rather make 400 connecting-rods in a shift.'

"When the speeches were over, the best workers were awarded shock worker's books.

"During the banquet Dolotov walked in, straight from the shop. Someone announced that he had produced 200 axles during his shift. Everyone congratulated him. We all rose and shouted 'hurray!' Kubasov leaned over and said to me: 'I'll make 220 axles tomorrow.'

"I announced this to the gathering and they all shouted 'hurray!' again.

"There followed a concert and later dancing."

WHAT THEY WORKED FOR

(From an account of the First Five-Year Plan)

Someone showed Frédéric Legrand an issue of the *Magnitogorsk Worker* and pointed to the large headline which read: "Follow Legrand's Example." The following article accompanied the heading:

"A Belgian by the name of Legrand is an instructor in the machine shop. His thirty years of experience are going into our work. Legrand has suggested many valuable ways of improving the work, and he doesn't waste time waiting around for these suggestions to be discussed; he goes about determinedly putting them into life.

"At a meeting of the Bureau of Workers' Inventions it was decided to commend him and post the commendation notice in every shop."

Legrand cut out the article and pasted it in a large scrap-book, thus starting his original "newspaper."

Legrand was an excellent worker who did everything to help his fellow-workers. He bore in mind Stalin's words that "in the period of reconstruction technique decides everything," and he understood that he must help his

Soviet colleagues learn to make use of the most up-to-date machinery, help them learn from the experience of the most advanced capitalist countries. Legrand knew from his own experience that "no school and no university are worth anything without practical knowledge" (Lenin), and did his utmost to make sure that this practical knowledge he and thousands of other foreign workers and specialists had gained in the capitalist countries of the West would be put completely at the disposal of the Soviet people.

Legrand devoted much time to gathering information about the active participation of foreigners in Soviet construction projects and in helping to build socialism. Soon a host of clippings from German, American, and British working-class papers, which all spoke of the contribution made to Soviet industry by foreign workers and specialists in the U.S.S.R., joined the first article, clipped from the *Magnitogorsk Worker*.

Here is an excerpt from a letter to the *Daily Worker*:

"We are a group of American miners working in Leninsk (Siberia). We came to the U.S.S.R. to take an active part in the great task of building socialism, and we soon realized the tremendous difference between a capitalist country and the land of workers and peasants.

"We did not come to the U.S.S.R. to criticize and rejoice at the difficulties facing them. We have come here to help the workers of the Soviet Union with our own experience and knowledge to overcome these difficulties, to do everything within our power, give all our energy and all our attention to the building of socialism, in order to advance the work and introduce new, modern work methods in every building project."

There are many such clippings in Legrand's "newspaper."

Side by side with Soviet workers Frédéric Legrand spent fifteen months fighting for better efficiency at the Magnitogorsk building site.

The American engineers refused to accept 12-, 14-, and 16-inch diameter pipes for the blast furnaces. Other en-

gineers who were called in for consultation said that the pipes could not be bent to the required measurements, since Magnitogorsk lacked the necessary presses for the job. This meant the work-schedule would be disrupted. Legrand proposed that they form a team of Komsomols which he would lead; they soon learned how to bend the pipes and how to make them as well.

The foreign workers themselves wrote many interesting articles for Legrand's paper.

Following is an excerpt from a letter by a German worker named Kaufmann, published in *Die Rote Sirene*, a factory German-language newspaper.

"In the Soviet Union a worker is the most important person in the country. Workers get everything first and in greater quantities. There can be no question of a slump. On the contrary, everyone talks only of a boom."

Here is an excerpt from the factory German-language paper *Das Rote Sprachrohr*, taken from a letter to friends in Germany by a non-communist German engineer working in the U.S.S.R.

"There is so much yet to be done that we feel the unemployed of the whole world would find jobs here. It's a joke to read the lies of the bourgeois press about unemployment in the Soviet Union. It's ridiculous, and people who spread such rumours should be hanged."

Another German worker wrote of the part foreign workers played in establishing the economic independence of the Soviet Union, of their life at work and after working hours, of working conditions and of the way in which the new and the bright, created by socialism, was apparent everywhere.

A German worker named Kaiser wrote a letter entitled "Tempo, Tempo!" to *Klassenkampf*, the regional communist paper of Middle Germany. He wrote of the way he, as a Soviet worker, advanced to the post of factory director and from there to scientific research work.

"Could I ever have gone so far in Germany? No. Though I went to school and then to night-school, I would have remained a plain worker all my life. The only way I ever could have advanced myself would have been by

betraying my fellow-workers. I believe that the path I travelled in the Soviet Union is a classical example of the significance for the working class of a communist system," he concluded.

He unmasked the deserters who had run away from socialist building projects and appealed to German workers planning on coming to the U.S.S.R.:

"You must be very sure of yourself: do you honestly want to fight shoulder to shoulder with your Russian comrades on labour's Red Front and fight there despite all the difficulties? Deeds, not words count here, and this takes the heart of a fighter. One who lacks it cannot really become a true Bolshevik."

Some people tried to tell Legrand that he, as a foreigner, was a fool to work so hard. This brought about another notation in his "paper":

. "I and my comrades are working here because the workers of the Soviet Union were the first to establish a workers' government. They were the first to start building socialism."

IN MEMORY OF A NON-COMMUNIST FOREIGN ENGINEER

On October 13, 1931, the Council of People's Commissars issued the following decree (No. 865):

"Taking into account the great services done by the late E. L. Baumgarten in modernizing the autogenous industry of the U.S.S.R., it is hereby decreed that his family shall receive a lifetime personal pension."

All the workers and engineers of the plant where this non-communist German engineer had worked so honestly and fruitfully attended his funeral. A guard of honour stood by his casket. There was a meeting at the cemetery.

In 1931 the magazine *Autogenous Industry* wrote:

Workers of the Compressed Gas Factory decided to establish two Baumgarten Scholarships and name a welders' school in his honour.

The Rostok VAT Factory where Baumgarten worked during the most difficult organizational period decided to set up a technical autogenous library and name it in his honour.

Workers and office employees of the Matveyev Factory in Leningrad sent the following telegram: "We were shocked and grieved to hear of engineer Baumgarten's death and extend our heart-felt condolences to his family."

Workers, office employees, and administrative and technical personnel of the Dnepropetrovsk Factory where Mr. Baumgarten had worked at one time, organized a factory-wide meeting when they received word of his death. Their telegram, sent directly from the meeting, expressed their condolences to the family and friends of Erich Baumgarten, one of the fighters for the fulfilment of the five-year plan.

A special committee has been set up to prepare his manuscripts for publication.

A CONVERSATION WITH TWO FRENCHMEN

(From a sketch by Paul Vaillant-Couturier, published in 1931)

I met both of them: Lucien Roueste in Krasnodar, at the Kuban Experimental Institute of Agronomy, and Ernest Sauvion at the Tempelhof State Farm in the village of Prikumskoye, near Mineral Waters.

Not a day goes by that the capitalist press does not lament at the difficulties facing foreign specialists working in the U.S.S.R. That is why I was so tempted to speak to two of these "victims."

They are not youngsters. One is 58 and the other 60. Therefore, they have long since outgrown their days of boyish enthusiasm. The first has spent a year in the Soviet Union, while the other has been here 33 years. Thus, they represent two different types: the recent "imports" and the old-timers, here since before the Revolution. Finally, the second is a Communist, while the first,

Lucien Roueste, is a non-communist. His large, powerful head, burning eyes, sharp features, and bristling grey moustache are typical of many short, stocky Frenchmen.

"I'm a Parisian from way back," he said, "a graduate of the School of Agronomy, a former teacher and head of the work programme of an agricultural school. At the beginning of the war I moved to Provence, where I tried to raise soy-beans, a culture of great nutritional value, one that could supply industry with casein, vegetable oil, margarine, and many other products to be used as fodder. But what could I do in France, working on plots of land no bigger than a handkerchief? But they realized the value of soy-beans here, in the U.S.S.R. Don't forget that until now England was the only country to pay any attention to Manchurian soy-beans and their import value to the Far East.

"They sent for me. When I came, I brought along over a hundred and fifty varieties and got down to work immediately, first in Rostov and then here, in the Kuban. I was given every sort of assistance, and I can state with confidence that I'll sow 3,705 acres of soy-beans in 1932 and send the seeds of the harvest from the Ukraine to Siberia through Voronezh, Saratov, and Orenburg."

"Didn't you meet with any difficulties?"

"I certainly did. But what are these difficulties compared with the supreme effort of the entire population and the magnitude of the goal ahead! Ask any Russian worker which he'd prefer: to have less shirts in the U.S.S.R., but one more tractor, and you'll see, he'll choose to have one more tractor. Then again, many food shortages of the past winter have now been overcome. The kulaks chose to slaughter their cattle, rather than join collective farms, but the Soviet Government counteracted that with a plan for the systematic production of meat by establishing tremendous state cattle and pig-breeding farms and growing more fodder. Besides, there are huge collective vegetable gardens ringing the cities, which will supply the cooperatives with fresh vegetables, and by next year the individual farmer will no longer be able to compete with them. Though an egg costs 36 kopeks

at the market, a worker only pays 6 kopeks for it at the cooperative store—cheaper than in France! As concerns difficulties of a purely technical or bureaucratic nature, I soon realized the root of all the trouble. The only strong opposition I encountered came from saboteurs and the remnants of the ruling classes. The bureaucratic procrastination of various administrators was nothing compared to the two-faced actions, the absurd proposals, and the insulting aplomb of those people."

"Do you believe sabotage has been dealt with once and for all?"

"No, not yet. However, it can no longer cause the great harm it had in the past, as the engineers are now controlled by the people."

"What about the young people?"

"The young people here are wonderful. It's too bad they have so little time. They finish studying on the job. However, planned labour, which leaves no one out, is, in the final analysis, the best of all schools. The mainspring of the rapid development of Soviet industry is a plan which provides that each worker will have a clear picture of his own work and degree of responsibility. Thus, modern equipment is coupled to a conscious, socialist, enthusiastic approach to work. This then is the new way of life. So tell the workers and peasants of France that an old French agronomist has one regret—that he cannot live his life over in order to give it all to the establishment of a new, socialist world."

* * *

The Tempelhof State Farm lies at the foot of Camel Mountain, deep in the Northern Caucasus, lost among German, Tatar, and Gypsy collective farms. It seems an oasis after the monotony of the fields of rye.

Ernest Sauvion, an expert brandy-maker, works here. Sauvion is a typical wine-maker: he's small, round, rosy-cheeked, and stocky, with sparkling eyes and the lips of a gourmet. He was born in Cognac and even speaks with a Cognac accent.

As compared to the young Russian director and his two assistants—a Pole and a German—Sauvion is undoubtedly the most skilled and qualified connoisseur of brandies.

"I was sixty yesterday," he said. "That makes it 33 years since I came to Russia and 22 that I've been working here at Tempelhof. In case you haven't noticed, you are now in the former Imperial wine-cellars."

"Then you were here during the Revolution?"

"Yes, there were battles raging here. It was terrible."

"Did you have a hard time?"

"No. Everyone knew me, and they didn't touch my house or my family. But the cognac! Dear sirs, just think of the cognac. My cognac! My "library"! The only one of its kind in Russia. Cognac from 1902! Ah, what I had to live through! The Whiteguards downed many a barrel, and so did the Reds. But the Revolution cannot tolerate drunkenness. And so, one of the Red commissars got the bright idea of blowing up the cognac. And he did, I swear he did! A million bottles."

"Well, it was a harsh blow, but a just one," I said.

"That was the greatest tragedy of my life, but still, I was able to understand that man: the Revolution cannot tolerate drunkenness."

"Didn't you feel like leaving after that?"

"No. I like my work too much. The people became the owners here, and I decided to throw in my lot with them."

"How are things now?"

"Now I can do things we never dreamed of before the Revolution. Things are moving ahead much faster."

"Haste makes waste, you know."

"Everything is under control. We have machines we never knew existed, and the area under crops keeps getting bigger and bigger. This year, for instance, we're cultivating 170 new acres of vineyards. Each year groups of students come here from the Vladikavkaz Technical School. What workers they are! I share the secrets of the trade with them and help them to discern the most delicate flavours and bouquets of wines."

"Are the workers any better off than they were before?"

"What a question! I knew them to be downtrodden, ignorant people. They receive higher wages than they did before the Revolution; then, there are the social gains, and, finally, these are no longer automatons, but people who realize the importance of fulfilling the plan. They know they are working for themselves."

"Do you intend to return to France?"

"No, I don't. I was offered a job there at 1,000 rubles a month, but I declined the offer. Here's to your health, citizens, and long live the five-year plan!"

This is what two French agricultural experts—one among fields of soy-beans in the Kuban, and the other in the Caucasian wine-cellars beneath Camel Mountain—told me in May 1931.

If you would like a more detailed account, you can write to them directly.

SHOCK WORKERS WITH FOREIGN PASSPORTS

(A sketch about the First Five-Year Plan)

The Kharkov Tractor Plant produced its 25,000th tractor on the anniversary of the signing of the socialist competition agreement.

The plant had been working steadily towards reaching its goal: 144 tractors a day. Beginning with April 19, 1933, the plant's daily output was 100 tractors and spare parts to match. Shoulder to shoulder with the best Soviet workers were dozens of foreign shock workers.

Ninety per cent of the foreign workers and specialists were actively competing for an increase in output and quality; 158 foreign workers and engineers were awarded "Shock Worker's" books, and how proud of them they were!

"Discipline is what counts most," said a turner named Deubel. "I stay on the job, I'm never late for work, and I fulfil 104 to 122 per cent of the regular norm."

"How much spoilage do you have?"

"Oh, none, none! I don't have any spoilage," Deubel said emphatically.

Gaša is also a foreigner.

"I've been given a 'Shock Worker's' book, and all the five Soviet workers in my team are also shock workers. Despite irregular deliveries of supplies, our output is 133 per cent of the scheduled norm, and our team has received nearly 500 rubles in bonuses."

Foreign workers and specialists take part in conferences on production and management, and several of them have themselves become the initiators of such conferences and rationalizers' groups in the shops.

Deubel, Rettich, and Zuclans are the best workers in the first team of the tool-making shop.

Kušlak, a grinder, is the best shock worker, active in the social affairs of the plant and a member of the Worker's Court.

Schwartz, a turner, fulfils 105 per cent of his norm and consistently helps his Soviet colleagues.

Andrews, an American, is the best worker of the repair shop. His team cut down the idle standing time of broken machinery by ten per cent over the required average. The team members have never been late for work nor have they produced anything but the best quality. Andrews was awarded an honorary diploma and was elected chairman of the shop trade-union committee.

Patora, a Czech, is the team leader of the construction group. He was awarded a "Shock Worker's" book for fulfilling the first quarter's norm 130 per cent without any spoilage whatsoever.

Tönk, a Hungarian, is the team leader in the forge shop. His scheduled norm is 245 parts, yet he consistently produces 280 to 330 parts a day. He received three bonuses and has been recommended for a fourth one for overfulfilling the plan of the first quarter.

Kroutil's shop is the pride of the education department.

"I've learned a lot in the U.S.S.R.," he said. "I became more skilled, since I never worked at such a large plant back home."

The following letter, printed in *Izvestia* on May 1, 1933, was written by the foreign workers and specialists of the Kharkov Tractor Plant to the foreign workers and specialists of the Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant:

"On the anniversary of the international celebration of May Day and the fourth anniversary of the socialist competition of the foreign workers and specialists of all nationalities working at the Kharkov Tractor Plant, we hereby challenge the foreign workers and specialists of the Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant to sign a socialist competition agreement with us.

"We pledge, together with all the workers of the plant that, led by the Communist Party organization, we shall reach by June lst the goal of 144 tractors daily. We also pledge to ensure the regular output of spare parts."

THIS IS REAL INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN SOLIDARITY

(From a letter to M. I. Kalinin by the Schutzbundists)

During five days in February 1934, the workers of Austria waged a war against the rising forces of reaction. They fought valiantly, but their ranks were diffused, they were insufficiently organized and not certain of their goal, and so they were defeated. Thousands of fighters (they were called Schutzbundists, after the Workers' Defence Council—"Schutzbund") fell on the field of battle, thousands more were arrested, and the best leaders of the armed revolt were executed. Many Schutzbundists fought their way across the border, and somewhat later came to work in the U.S.S.R.

In February 1935, former Schutzbundists living in Leningrad wrote the following letter to M. I. Kalinin, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.

"Dear Comrade,

"We, the Schutzbundists of Leningrad, gathered at an organizational meeting to prepare for the first anniversary of the street fighting in Austria, send you our sincere, revolutionary greetings.

"There is not a single man among us who does not recall with loathing and hatred the monstrous betrayal by the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party. Not all of us are yet Communists. However, the help we have received on the part of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union is proof of the sincerity and reality of international proletarian solidarity. This country, governed by the dictatorship of the proletariat, constantly provides us with new proof that it is in the full sense of the word our socialist homeland.

"We know that 500,000 Austrian workers have no work and no food. Yet we here in no way feel the effects of unemployment. All of us are working, and many who were formerly plain labourers are learning skilled trades.

"We all have comfortable apartments. We and our families receive good, adequate food and clothing. We do not suffer from hunger and privation, as we once did in capitalist Austria.

"This is why we have decided to write to you.

"We are happy here, we are able to take an active part in the building of socialism and learn first-hand about the new socialist forms of production and the great cultural advancement brought about by the October Revolution.

"We have long since decided to hold a February anniversary meeting and hereby pledge to fulfil a series of cultural and production obligations in commemoration of the courageous fighters of the Austrian barricades.

"Many of us have been studying Russian intensively at the special language courses and at work, and many have mastered it enough to take up special technical courses and now study mathematics, theoretical mechanics, industrial designing, etc.

"First and foremost, however, we are determined to learn the fundamentals of true Marxism-Leninism, and thus acquire a good political foundation.

"We are proud to be able to write and tell you that to date the Leningrad group of Schutzbundists (145 in all) has 110 shock workers among its ranks.

"The memory of our struggle, the experience and knowledge we gained here, in the Land of Soviets, make us want to put all our energy into building socialism and working for the triumph of socialism the world over, to become one with the proletarians of the Soviet Union and draw our ranks closer around the Communist Party.

"Long live our socialist Fatherland—the Soviet Union!

"Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat!"

GEORGE MORGAN, A MOSCOW METRO BUILDER FROM THE U.S.A.

Among the many tourists who visited the Soviet Union in 1956 was an engineer named George Morgan. He is well known in Moscow as one of the builders of the first branch of the Moscow Metro.

His old friends were delighted to see him again. During his stay he was received by N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

Following is a condensed version of George Morgan's interview with A. Serbin, of *Ogonyok* magazine, published in the July 1956 issue.

"The paper has become a bit yellowed with age and the creases are worn, but it has been carefully pasted together on the reverse side. It reads:

"Hearing of the proposed members of the Scientific and Technical Council of the Presidium of the Moscow Soviet.

"It is an excerpt from the minutes of the December 26, 1935 meeting of the Moscow Soviet Presidium. Among the names proposed is George Morgan, engineer, chief consultant for the Metro construction.

"Another excerpt of another meeting states that George Morgan, engineer U.S.A., has been awarded the

honorary badge of the Moscow Soviet of Workers', Peasants', and Red Army Men's Deputies for his outstanding contribution in building the Moscow Metro.

"George Morgan, an American tourist, brought these two documents to Moscow with him. He also brought his Order of the Red Banner of Labour, which he was awarded in 1936 for his part in building the first branch of the Moscow Metro.

"'See, here's a photograph taken in those days. That's what time does to us in twenty years. I'm sixty now, you know.'

"Indeed, the years have added a slight stoop to the tall American's shoulders. But he doesn't look sixty, and we told him so. He was pleased and nodded:

"'Well, well!'

"We began our conversation way back in the days when Mr. Morgan first came to our country. He then worked for Arthur G. Mckee and Co. The firm had a contract with a Soviet organization and George Morgan was one of the firm's engineers who was sent to the U.S.S.R. in 1931 to help build the Magnitogorsk metallurgical plant. Mr. Morgan spent nearly two years at Magnitogorsk, after which he returned to the U.S.A.

"This was a time of crisis and unemployment in the United States. Morgan returned to Moscow as a tourist and offered his services to the Metro builders.

"'I said to them: "Let me work here for three months. If we suit each other, then we can draw up a real contract." We suited each other perfectly and worked together for five years. From 1933 to 1935 I was a consulting engineer for the Metro and later went to work for the People's Commissariat for Railways. I left in 1937, after the first branch of the Metro had been completed and work had been begun on the second.'

"Mr. Morgan considers that building that first branch was actually a 'university' for the engineers concerned. They had to draw on English, American, German, and French experience. Since there is such a great variety of types of soil in Moscow, they had to invent new methods as they went along.

"'Were you the one who invented these new methods?'

"'No,' he said, shaking his head vigorously, 'not I, but we. I mean the Russian engineers. Thousands of people worked on the Metro and we all worked together as a team.'

"Mr. Morgan recalled that they met with great difficulties when building the Krasniye Vorota Station, where there were often water-logged sand-slides. The Lenin Library Station was equally difficult, but the Dzerzhinskaya Station gave them the most trouble. After the first branch had been completed, George Morgan wrote a book entitled *The Moscow Metro Is the Best in the World.*

"'I always recall with pleasure the years I spent in Moscow. I had all the comforts of life, an interesting job, and good, sincere friends. What else could I have wished for?' Then he smiled and added: 'By the way, I lived at Zemlyanoi Val, in the same house your famous flyer Chkalov did. I was one floor higher than he. Can you imagine, one floor higher than such a man! Not bad.'

"We then spoke of his impressions of Moscow today. What were the greatest changes he had noticed?

"'You don't have to go far to see the changes, all you have to do is look out of the hotel window. Before, the narrow street here lined with small houses was called Tverskaya. Now it's a grand avenue lined with magnificent buildings and its name has been changed to Gorky Street. The first thing I did was to go sightseeing around the city in an open car. Oh, yes, you've taken a great step forward! There are so many new houses and even new districts. When I used to live here there were no buildings to match the University, and that speaks for itself. And then the traffic! Before, horses were the most popular form of public conveyance. I guess if you want to see a horse in Moscow these days, you'll have to go to the race track. The appearance of the people has changed, too. They are much better dressed. This is one of the results of industrialization, of the fact that machines have replaced manual labour. I've already been to the Industrial Exhibition and seen the latest types of

Soviet machines. There are many excellent models there, such as the new tractors, cranes, and excavators. Of course, there are some points which could bear improvement, but on the whole you're on the right track. There was a time here when industrial development demanded sacrifices from the people, but now you are reaping the fruits you once had to sacrifice for.'

"'As a former Metro builder, what do you think of the new stations?'

"'Excellent! I saw the stations and spoke to the men who built them, among whom were many old colleagues of mine. You have very good machinery, and I think you're right in laying the new tunnels deeper than the previous ones. This way you don't interfere with the underground communication cables and the soil is better for tunnelling at a greater depth. There are two things that must be mentioned separately: the cleanliness of the Metro and the good ventilation, both sadly lacking in underground railways of other countries.'

"The phone rang. It was a foreign correspondent, apparently interested in Mr. Morgan's stay in Moscow. After he had hung up, Morgan said:

"'That fellow kept trying to find out whether Nikita Sergeyevich and I spoke politics when I went to see him. But I'm not a politician, I'm an engineer.'

"He said that he often met with Mr. Khrushchov during his stay in Moscow in the thirties.

"'I always liked him. I went to see him recently. We spoke for over an hour. When I worked in Moscow we always had a good business relationship. That's why our meeting now was like one of two old friends. Naturally, we spoke of mutual friends and of the problems which were so pressing at the time. Nikita Sergeyevich asked me about my impressions of Moscow. Then he told me what was being done in your country to raise the living standard. I said I was seeing all this with my own eyes. We spent a very pleasant hour together.'

"We asked Mr. Morgan to give us his opinion on exchanging visits between the peoples of our two countries.

"'First of all, I'd like to say that I expect to visit

Moscow again. I always stood for a better relationship between our countries and believe that Americans and Russians should really get to know each other.'"

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS LATER

As we walked down Ball-Bearing Street on a summer evening in 1957, past the endless plant buildings and the bright blocks of apartment houses, a thin dark-skinned man with dreamy eyes was saying:

"Oh, our automatic shop is magnificent! Weren't you there yet? And you must see the automatic production lines."

He pointed to a white building and said: "That's our college. And there's another new house going up. It should be ready by autumn."

He fell silent and then chuckled. "I recall that when I first came here, there wasn't a single bus in Moscow, and a one-line trolley was the only way to get to the plant."

At the corner of Machine-Building Street we came upon a row of old houses. The man frowned.

"We'll tear them down soon."

As he spoke of the plant and the workers, he kept saying "we," "our," "my." It was obvious that he was genuinely pleased to tell us about the automatic shop, that he was proud of the plant's college and truly sorry that they still had old houses.

As we proceeded along the wide street, we were greeted from every side.

"Greetings, Robert! Hi, old man! Hello, Bob!"

A group of children passed us and greeted him with great formality. Then a group of young girls from the plant ran past to the trolley stop, waving to him and smiling.

This was a big day in Robert Robinson's life. His plant had just celebrated its 25th anniversary, and Robert himself had worked in the tool-making shop for as many years as that. He had invited his friends to the factory café to celebrate the occasion. He had to rush and change and then

meet his guests. No sooner had he crossed the threshold of his house than the phone rang.

"Hello, is that you, Chang? I'm so glad you phoned. Grab a cab and come on over. There's a party on."

Chang Chih-cheng and Robert met at a sanatorium when Chang, then a graduate student, first came to Moscow from Shanghai to study at the Electrical Communications College. He received his Master's degree and now works at the Peking Academy of Science. Robert was the first person he phoned when he arrived in Moscow, on his way back to Peking from a business trip to Berlin.

Then a fellow-countryman of Robert's who lives near Moscow phoned. Then some friends from the shop phoned. Then the cook from the café phoned to ask if it was time to set the tables. Yes, he'd have to hurry.

The guests began to arrive. Robert beamed as he met them in the vestibule. There were words of congratulation, firm handshakes, and comradely kisses.

There were many guests and each was as dear as the next.

There were comrades whom the skilled and talented master had taught the art of grinding. There were those who had studied with him at the evening college. Among the latter was Victor Khokhlushin, a former worker at the Freser Plant and now director of the Calibre Plant, and Mikhail Bokov, the chief engineer of the Tekhnolog Plant. There were his former shopmates Anatoly Gromov, a former lathe-operator who is now the director of the First Ball-Bearing Plant and a Lenin Prize winner, and Mikhail Kuznetsov, also a former lathe-operator, and now a famous film star. There were his present co-workers, his fellow-countrymen living in Moscow, and an Englishman named Ralph Parker. The honoured guests of the evening were a group of Chinese engineers training at the plant and a group of Spaniards working there.

Russian, English, and Ukrainian were spoken. The air was filled with the lovely strains of songs by Paul Robeson, Robert's friend. There was a special meaning to the words of "My Native Land" and "Meadowlands."

"Friends, please be seated!" the host said. "As the saying goes: you're welcome to all we have. Let's have a toast."

When the glasses were filled Robinson said:

"I came to the Soviet Union on a one-year contract, and I've been living in your ... in our country for twenty-five years now. Together we shared our joys and sorrows, and together we are proud of the achievements of our plant. I'm proud that I too have done my bit towards building the first socialist country in the world. It is a great honour for me, a son of the Negro people, to be taking part in the building of socialism. The Soviet Union did a lot for me, it gave me an education, it made me an engineer. But most of all, it made me feel and know that I have equal rights with all! Friends, I feel that I am part of a great family! That, indeed, is happiness."

Robinson's face lit up as he spoke, his voice was full of deep emotion. It was quite understandable.

Robinson, a native of Cuba, learned the tool-maker's trade, but he spent more time looking for work than actually working. The Cuban papers said there was work in the United States, and Robert decided to try his luck there.

He was a first-class tool-maker, interested in his profession. He got work in Detroit and was the only Negro among the 700 white workers at the plant. It even got into the papers and there was a photograph of him on the job. However, there was no mention in the papers of the segregation enforced upon him or of the fact that he got less pay than his co-workers did.

When Robert boarded a steamer in 1932 to come to work in the Soviet Union, he looked for a sign with the words "For Coloured Only." Those were words he had heard all his life. But he never once heard them in the Soviet Union.

When he arrived, he was given a group of apprentices at the Stalingrad Tractor Plant. They amazed him, their noisy youthfulness, their thirst for knowledge, and their exhuberance were catching; he could not

at first understand their *subbotniks* and *voskresniks*.* They paid no attention to official working hours. In their desire to understand everything and learn everything they forgot about rest. Robinson taught them all he had learned with such difficulty.

The United States lay many thousands of miles away, but at that time there were several American engineers working at the Stalingrad Tractor Plant who were not interested in anything except money. They were annoyed at Robinson, "a Negro who gets paid the same as whites and who—just imagine it!—calmly sits down at the table with white people!" Then it happened. Two men who would have looked better in KKK hoods walked up to him one hot summer noon. They had some advice for him, namely, that he should go back to the States. Didn't he like the idea? Robert ducked, and although it was two against one, he put up a good fight.

There was a wave of indignation at the plant. That very day the workers, boiling mad at what had happened, called an emergency meeting. They demanded that the insolent bigots be barred from the U.S.S.R. Similar meetings were held in Leningrad and in Moscow.

Their contracts were cancelled. At that time Robinson was finishing his job at the tractor plant. Factories in Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev vied with each other to engage his services. He chose the First Ball-Bearing Plant in Moscow.

Whenever veteran Soviet workers talk of the heroes of the first five-year plans and of the founders of the Soviet ball-bearing industry, they always mention Robert Robinson.

"Oh, Bob has golden hands and a good head on his shoulders!"

He is known in Moscow, Kuibyshev, Kharkov, Minsk and at every other Soviet ball-bearing plant. There are many such plants in the U.S.S.R., and all of them

* *Subbotniks* and *voskresniks* were a type of voluntary, unpaid labour workers did in their spare time (on Saturdays or Sundays) to aid the socialist state. The first such subbotnik was organized on Saturday, May 10, 1919.—*Ed.*

at one time or another were part of the First Ball-Bearing Plant. The older workers learned their trades there, and Robert was one of their teachers.

Robinson has good reason to say "my plant, my shop."

He was among the pioneers of the ball-bearing industry in the Soviet Union, modernizing and perfecting it from year to year. From his very first days at a Soviet plant he showed himself to be an innovator and inventor.

If one were to go on tour of the plant, passing through the many shops and along the rows of machines, the guide would often have to stop and say:

"This has been modernized, improved, and mechanized by Robert Robinson."

Here is the bearings shop. See the original attachment for the drums on which the barrel-shaped bearings are ground. It has increased production tenfold. Robinson invented the attachment.

Here is the separating shop. See the unusual attachment for punching separating holes in bicycle bearings that has been such a boon to the workers. Robinson invented this too.

Robinson's pneumatic attachment for clamping the rods on turret lathes has proved very successful. He is also the inventor of a mechanism which hardens the rods by high-frequency currents—which increased production tenfold—as well as many other inventions.

During the past few years Robinson has submitted over thirty valuable innovations.

Mr. Robinson is an engineer who has a wonderful job: he is in charge of introducing new equipment in the plant, and is always in the forefront of technical progress. He has many pupils, but still more friends.

This was his toast, as he raised his crystal glass of bubbling wine, surrounded by friends who had come to his anniversary dinner:

"Comrades! I came here for a year, but I'd like to celebrate the 50th anniversary of my plant and the 50th anniversary of my work here. I toast the Land of Soviets where

I first felt I was a man! Long live the brotherhood of men! Long live the solidarity of the working class! Long live friendship and peace throughout the world!"

Everyone reached out their glasses to Robert. Then a loud voice belonging to Anatoly Gromov, Robinson's former shopmate, boomed:

"Here, let me kiss you, my dear man!"

And the two tool-makers who had started out together in the same shop so many years before hugged and kissed.

Then George Tines came up to him. He is another American Negro who came to the U.S.S.R. on a short-term contract twenty-five years ago; he also found a second homeland here. He married a Russian girl and now has a large family. After he married, George went back to the United States to visit his people. They were very surprised when he showed them a picture of his wife.

Tines is a poultry expert at a large chicken farm in Moscow Region. His work is highly appreciated and he has been an exhibitor at the Agricultural Exhibition twice.

Tines congratulated Robinson and suggested:

"What do you say that we both compete? Hm? It wouldn't be such a bad idea, would it?"

Robinson jumped at the proposal. Right there and then the two men—a former worker from Cuba, now an engineer, and the farm expert from Ohio—agreed to compete, for their work will only serve to better fulfil the 1957 plan!

Chu Huai-tin, spokesman for the Chinese apprentices, raised his glass and said:

"Though we speak different languages, we all understand each other. Robert, we are all your brothers! Though we come from different countries, we are all of the same family."

Luis Ruiz, a Spaniard working at the plant, sang a song instead of proposing a toast.

Victor Khokhlushin, director of the Calibre Plant, told the other guests of the time he and Robert were taking their college entrance examinations and, no use lying after so many years, the way Bob rescued his chums many

a time. Khokhlushin proposed a toast for Robert Robinson, a worker and Soviet engineer who has dedicated himself to serving his socialist homeland.

Then Zhiltsov, an old grinder, spoke.

"My dear and wonderful comrade! Dear friends! Let us drink for the united, happy working family in which, side by side, we have here a Russian, a Ukrainian, a Gypsy, a Chuvash, and a Spaniard...."

"Comrades, don't forget a Czech!" an engineer named Šatolo interrupted. "After all, I represent the people of Czechoslovakia here!"

There followed toast upon toast: that Robert's family live long and prosper, that he continue perfecting the work at the plant. There was general applause and exclamations when Panov, the café chef who has also been at the plant over twenty years, entered with a magnificent anniversary cake.

...And the air continued to be filled with Paul Robeson's stirring songs, and it seemed to those gathered there that he too was present among them at the festive table, come to congratulate his friend Robert Robinson with his many years of fine work.

Chapter Eight

COMRADES IN BATTLE AGAINST FASCISM

The day after Hitler Germany's attack on the Soviet Union the United States Secretary of War Henry Stimson reported to the President that he had consulted with his chiefs-of-staff and they all argeed that Germany would smash Russia in a minimum of one month, or three months at the maximum. General Marshall, then Chief-of-Staff of the U.S. Army, was quick to pass on this information to the general public by stating at a press conference: "The Nazis will go through the Red Army like a red-hot knife through butter."

Prominent military experts in the United States were greatly impressed by the might of the Nazi war machine. And indeed Hitler's army numbering many millions was the peak achievement of centuries of German militarism. At the moment of its onslaught on the U.S.S.R., having already conquered eleven states of Europe, it was at the zenith of its power. But Stimson, Marshall and many other military authorities of that period were utterly mistaken in their estimation of the Soviet people; they did not know and did not understand the potential of the Soviet socialist state.

The Nazis secretly concentrated 170 divisions, hoping to crush the U.S.S.R. by a sudden devastating blow. The U.S.S.R. withstood the blow, endured all the rigours of military failure during the first period of the war and, thanks to the immortal heroism of millions at the front and in the rear, was able to turn the tide of the war. In October of 1941, the fighting was on the

outskirts of Moscow. On May 2, 1945, the Soviet Army captured Berlin.

It was not an easy victory for the Soviet people. During the war 66 per cent of the country's industrial plant was destroyed or brought to a standstill. Nazi troops seized territory which in peace-time had provided homes for forty per cent of the population of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet people had to face the main forces of fascism: 240 divisions in 1942; 257 divisions in 1943. The fight against fascism, which threatened the whole of freedom-loving mankind with destruction and slavery, demanded enormous effort and huge sacrifices from the Soviet people; the war cost the U.S.S.R. millions of lives, it left 25 million people homeless; the material damage caused has been estimated at 1,890,000 million rubles.

Unbowed and undismayed, filled with the will to victory and faith in victory, the Soviet people endured the battles of the anti-fascist war. They knew they were defending the freedom and independence of their socialist motherland; they knew that in the struggle against fascism the fate of many generations, the fate of all humanity was being decided, and in this awareness of their great mission of liberation they found inexhaustible reserves of spiritual strength.

In a trying period of battles unprecedented in history, the advantages of the Soviet system over capitalism were strikingly demonstrated again. In the gigantic military conflict with the forces of fascist aggression it was the Soviet social and political system born of the Great October Revolution and socialist ideology that achieved victory.

Together with the Soviet Army the troops of the United States, Britain and Fighting France fought valiantly against the common enemy. Shoulder to shoulder with Soviet fighting men, the Polish and Czech armies, and towards the end of the war, troops from Rumania and Bulgaria and other countries of Europe liberated by the Soviet Army, joined in defeating the Nazis. The Yugoslav people fought heroically against the fascist enslavers, creating amid the flames of war their People's Liberation

Army which in the final stage of the fighting, with the support of the Soviet Army, brought liberation to Yugoslavia and its capital Belgrade.

Soviet people remember the daring feats of the partisans of France, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Albania, Greece, and Bulgaria, the heroism of resistance fighters in Germany, Hungary and other countries. Soviet people will never forget how in the hardest days of the war, when the bulk of the Western press vied with Western military authorities in predicting the inevitable and rapid "collapse of the Soviets," and the "destruction of the Red Army," millions of ordinary folk the world over, progressive intellectuals and the broad masses of the population, warmly affirmed their faith in the Soviet people and its strength, their reliance on the Land of Soviets and their readiness to help its heroic people.

Although, as is known, the proportion of military supplies delivered to the U.S.S.R. by her allies in the anti-Hitler coalition was not so very great—only four per cent altogether!—in comparison with the massive flow of armaments, ammunition and other war supplies that the Soviet people produced themselves the Soviet people remember with gratitude the American and British workers who spared neither time nor effort to manufacture supplies for the U.S.S.R., and also the heroic sailors who manned the war-time convoys to Russia in face of constant attacks by Nazi submarines and aircraft.

The unity between the proletariat's international and national tasks was particularly clear in those days. While helping the Soviet Union either by direct military action or by manufacturing war supplies, or by participation in resistance movements and so on, the workers of other countries hastened the hour of their own liberation from fascist atrocities and the horrors of war.

During the years of the Second World War the Soviet people and the peoples of the United States, Britain, France and many other countries were welded together in a fighting friendship by hatred of slavery and tyranny, by their will to freedom and independence, and by their desire for peace.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK CORPS IN ACTION

During the war a Czechoslovak military unit, which thanks to constant reinforcements eventually grew into an army corps, was formed on the territory of the U.S.S.R.

Among the Czech soldiers who fought on Soviet soil there were both regular soldiers of the old Czech army and also men who, having been forced into the Nazi army, had gone over to the Soviet Army during battle; there were also people who had miraculously escaped from the Nazi concentration camps, as well as émigrés of all kinds, people of widely varying professions, political views and religious beliefs.

They were all united by an indestructible love for their country, beautiful Czechoslovakia, betrayed and sold by her allies in the West and by her own rulers during the black days of Munich; they were united by their hatred of the Nazi usurpers and hangmen.

Well trained, and armed with Soviet weapons, the Czech troops fought heroically against fascism shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army, and earned both the warm gratitude of their people and high government awards.

Speaking at a meeting in the town of Žilina during the visit of the Soviet Party and Government delegation to the Czechoslovak Republic in July 1957, N. S. Khrushchov said:

"I was a member of the Military Council of the front on which your men, the valiant fighting men of Czechoslovakia, fought during the war against fascism. First it was a battalion, then a brigade, and finally a corps. The sons of your people fought magnificently. I remember the hard fighting round Kharkov and Kiev, in which they struck heavy blows against our common enemy. Based on a firm foundation, our friendship grew and was tempered in struggle. It is sealed with the blood shed by our peoples in the struggle against our common enemy, against fascism."

During the war the Soviet press gave wide publicity

to the activities of the Czechoslovak Corps. Here are some extracts from an article published at the time by the Soviet war correspondent Mikhail Bragin.

"...That night there were few who slept in the Czechoslovak Corps. On the threshold of their own country nearly every man looked back with his mind's eye at the path he had travelled. These thousands of Czechs, Slovaks and Carpathian Ukrainians had reached this frontier by different roads, and their biographies were different. But all of them had the same hatred of the common enemy—Hitlerism; all of them understood that their closest friend was the Soviet Union.

"The most experienced fighters in the Czechoslovak Corps were the officers and men who five years previously had left Czechoslovakia and come to the Soviet Union to continue the struggle for their Motherland. With them were fighters who were young in experience of the army, though not in experience of life.

"Two years ago Company Sergeant-Major Štěpán Andrašik had been arrested in Czechoslovakia and deported to the Mathausen concentration camp in the Austrian Alps. He was tortured and beaten, and, when he still refused to answer questions, thrown into a concrete dungeon, where he was kept for five months absolutely naked. Then he was driven to Lublin.

"Now he was sitting on an empty ammunition box telling his men how every day the fascists used to drive their prisoners out to work in groups of fifty, and how they would return in the evening with only half their number. In a single day the fascists shot 28,000 prisoners. He told how Russian officers were burnt alive in the death ovens. The Nazis did not have time to kill and burn Andrašik himself, for the Russians were rapidly advancing on Lublin. The surviving prisoners were driven into the heart of Germany on foot since the railways had been blown up by the partisans. Hundreds of prisoners collapsed on the road, to be torn to pieces by dogs or shot where they lay by the S.S. guards. One night, however, heavy rain dampened the ferocity of the guards and their dogs. Andrašik dropped to the ground and managed to crawl

aside into a field of rye, where he lay until the Russians came....

"Andrašik talked slowly, with difficulty; his tongue had been slit, his ribs broken, his kidneys displaced, all his finger-nails torn off.... The doctor had wanted to keep him in hospital but he had insisted on joining the Czechoslovak Corps.

"Among those now about to enter Czechoslovakia there were fighters against fascism who had not waited for the Nazis to take over their country, who had foreseen what would happen and had sought the opportunity of fighting the fascists in Spain, in the underground, anywhere they could. They had roamed through countries, and over continents to reach the U.S.S.R., to reach the front.

"In them there still lived the fighting spirit of the Hussites, those ancient fighters for independence and progress. They used to remind the waverers and the seekers of compromise of the time when the Hussites fought alone against the Prussians, the Hungarians, the Swedes, the Italians. Now, they said, the Czechs are not alone in the struggle.

"Now there were thousands of them. They had been formed into regiments and brigades. Yet the fight had begun with only one battalion of men and officers.

"In a far-off town beyond the Volga, with Soviet officers instructing them, the Czechs trained persistently in the art of war and waited impatiently for the day when they would be sent to the front.

"That day came in March 1943.

"Troops of the Red Army were fighting on the approaches to Kharkov. To save his troops from rout, Hitler had thrown thirty fresh divisions, including an S.S. tank corps, into a counter-attack. The Nazis' furious onslaught had to be stopped. The Czechoslovak battalion joined the line of Guards' divisions holding the River Mzha and was given the task of defending the village of Sokolovo. It was the battalion's first engagement.

"The Nazis' attack began with a blow at the neighbouring village of Taranovka, which was defended by a

regiment under the command of Colonel Pilugin, Hero of the Soviet Union. For the first time the Czechs saw what modern warfare was like, and how the Russians could fight. They saw the German tanks, infantry and aircraft hurled at the Taranovka area, and saw them repulsed by Soviet infantry and artillery, they saw how the attacks were continued all day, and how the Russians, after being forced out of the village in the evening, recaptured it with a counter-attack at night. They saw the Nazis go into battle with flame-thrower tanks while eighteen Soviet soldiers barricaded themselves in a church and held out against flame-thrower tanks and dive-bombers for four days. Reinforcements fought their way through at night and finally the Russians counter-attacked and drove the enemy out of the village.

"Then the Nazis switched their attack to the village of Sokolovo, which was defended by a Czechoslovak company under Captain Jaroš. The attack began with sixty tanks supported by infantry and aircraft.... This was the first time there had been close cooperation between Russians and Czechs on the field of battle. Czechoslovak infantry and Russian guns were dispositioned in a single battle formation, Czech and Russian lieutenants stood together in the same observation post. The Nazis smashed their way into the village under the fire of artillery and anti-tank rifles. They lost nineteen tanks but continued to advance. For the first time the Czechoslovak battalion saw their commander Lieutenant-Colonel Svoboda in battle. He was standing imperturbably in full view of the German tank gunners. Svoboda had told his men they were being watched by the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R., that this first battle was an examination before the whole Soviet Army and its high command. Officers and men took that examination boldly.

"Sergeant-Major Buršik's platoon did not waver, even when he had only twelve men left and was surrounded. The company commander Captain Jaroš sent Sergeant-Major Ružička's platoon to Buršik's aid; Ružička broke through to the surrounded platoon but was himself killed in the fighting. The six men left in his platoon

joined up with Buršik's men and continued the struggle for every street, every house. Surrounded on three sides, wounded in the head, Captain Jaroš reported the situation to Lieutenant-Colonel Svoboda and received the order:

"'Brother Jaroš, not one step back, hold out!'

"'We will hold out!' the young captain replied.

"Jaroš was seen for the last time with an anti-tank grenade in his hand, now twice wounded in the head. Blood streamed down his face but he went on fighting till he was cut down by machine-gun fire from an enemy tank. Captain Jaroš was posthumously awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. He was the first foreigner to receive posthumously the Soviet Union's highest award for bravery.

"Late at night the remnants of Captain Jaroš's company with only two officers left crawled across the ice of the River Mzha and joined up with their battalion. The sector of the Mzha line held by the Czech battalion stood firm.

"Hundreds of fresh troops arrived to reinforce the Czechoslovak battalion and it was expanded into a rifle brigade. The Soviet Army helped the Czechs to master the art of tank warfare.

"The shortest road to Czechoslovakia was through the Soviet Ukraine and the brigade joined the formation of the First Ukrainian Front. In cooperation with other units of the front, it forced a bridgehead north of the city, broke through on the flank of the ancient town of Vyshgorod and reached the northern outskirts of the capital of the Ukraine. Part of the First Ukrainian Front turned in the direction of the town of Belaya Tserkov, where fierce fighting developed. Following the Russians' example, the Czechs launched their first night attack, captured the village of Bura and penetrated ten miles into the enemy's defences. North of Uman the Germans launched a counter-attack and the Czechs, shoulder to shoulder with the Russians, repulsed the onslaught of the Nazi divisions.

"During the fighting Tuček, who had come to the brigade from a partisan detachment, died heroically. František Král, who had fought the fascists at Madrid

and had travelled half way round the world to get to the U.S.S.R., died heroically. In the fighting at Kharkov he had commanded a combined detachment of Russians and Czechs.

"Nearly fifty members of the brigade were decorated with Orders of the U.S.S.R., three of them, Buršik, Tesařik, and Sochor, were made Heroes of the Soviet Union.

"The brigade received greetings from the Jan Žižka Czechoslovak brigade fighting in Yugoslavia. In Britain, America, everywhere where Czechs were living, these successes were a bugle call to struggle. They encouraged the Czechs in the underground movement. Prisoners who later managed to escape from the German prison camps related that news of the heroic defenders of Sokolovo village, and of the victories at Kiev penetrated even the concrete walls of Mathausen and Dachau, and the barbed wire of Maidanek, and instilled courage in the hearts of those who were doomed to die.

"Perhaps the most important result of the fighting was the experience, toughening and skill that it gave the Czech soldiers and officers.

"Five years before, when they left Czechoslovakia, some of these officers and soldiers had been in Poland and seen the defeat of the Polish Army. Many of them had been in France with the Czech units operating there in 1940. They had experienced the rout of the French Army and the defeat of France.

"But in the Soviet Union they had seen something else. The nearer the Nazi armies that had smashed Poland and France drew to Moscow, the stronger became the resistance of the Red Army and the fighting spirit of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

"'We were in the front line,' said Staff Captain Lomsky, 'and in the heart of the country, far behind the lines, and we saw Russian soldiers and officers, women and old men digging trenches, and they all said that the Red Army would never let the Nazis capture Moscow, Leningrad and the Volga. Yet to many foreigners it seemed that the war from the military point of view was already lost. Before

our eyes the seemingly impossible was achieved. The Germans were defeated and driven back to the west....'

"This spiritual strength that Soviet people displayed enabled them to achieve the impossible. It seemed impossible to march over thirty-seven miles in fifteen hours from Kharkov to Sokolovo village over flooded March roads, when it was pouring with rain all day and freezing at night. But the men of the Czechoslovak brigade saw the Russians doing it, and they too completed that arduous march.

"'It seemed that no man could have strength enough to fight for Sokolovo,' wrote Lomsky. 'But we saw the living example of Colonel Pilugin's rifle brigade that defended Taranovka, and together with the Russians we held the line of the River Mzha. It seemed impossible to defend a sector five times broader than the manuals allow, but the Russians proved that it was possible. They achieved the impossible at every step, and yet it was hard to believe that they would launch an offensive in the spring of 1944. But it was just in that season of thaw and bad roads that the troops of the Ukrainian Front attacked the enemy, and strategic success on the Dniester, the Prut and in the Carpathians crowned an operation that from the point of view of the old military science would have been considered out of the question. To overcome difficulties as do Soviet soldiers, with their modesty and constant readiness to sacrifice themselves, to remain unshaken in tight corners, always to find a way out and win, to take risks without losing the initiative, these were the qualities that the Czech soldier learned from the Red Army man!...'

"Czechs and Slovaks reached the River San, at Peremyshl, on the frontier of the Soviet state. The men halted, lorries, guns, tanks came to a standstill. The soldiers turned and looked back along the road by which they had entered the U.S.S.R., and along which they were now returning to their own country. They wanted to wave a farewell to the land that had welcomed them five years before.

"At the head of the column stood two tanks, the Jan Žižka and the Lidice. The crew of the Jan Žižka, the tank in which Buršik had fought for Kiev, was given the banner to hoist it above the Czechoslovak frontier. The tank had four Ferdinands, one armoured troop carrier, 10 guns, 11 machine-gun nests, 6 strong points and one Tiger tank to its credit. Its armour bore the scars of eight direct hits.

"This steel 'battle chariot' had covered nearly 2,500 miles. And now, it had been decided to send it into battle on Czech soil so that it could afterwards be kept as an eternal witness of how the people and the steel of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia fought together for the independence and freedom of the peoples, of how they avenged Lidice, of how they achieved victory together.

"We drove to an observation post. Our jeep took us higher and higher up the winding road into the mountains.

"The soldiers were on the march. The fighting banner of the Czechoslovaks was unfurled above them and on it was written: 'Truth shall conquer' and 'We shall be true.'"

RUBÉN RUIZ IBÁRRURI, SON OF SPAIN

In the hardest days of the war, Rubén Ruiz Ibárruri joined the ranks of the Soviet Army as a volunteer. He had his first taste of fighting on the River Berezina, where he commanded a machine-gun company defending a bridge near the town of Borisov. For his daring and heroism in this engagement Ibárruri was decorated with the Order of the Red Banner.

In September 1941, speaking at an anti-fascist meeting of Soviet youth, Ibárruri said:

"...I am a Spaniard, but those who are fighting with me are Russians and Georgians, Byelorussians and Kazakhs, Ukrainians and Tajiks. Join our ranks all you who want to fight for happiness and freedom! Today there are many of us in the fighting line, tomorrow still more friends will join us."

On August 23, 1942, somewhere in the region of Kotluban station near Stalingrad, the forward units of the 35th Guards Division, one of which was Ibárruri's machine-gun company, were engaged in heavy fighting against superior enemy forces. When his battalion commander was killed, Ibárruri took over the command and directed the fire of machine-guns and anti-tank rifles with bravery and skill. During the night of August 23, he repulsed six attacks by infantry and tanks. Again and again the steel monsters charged through flame and smoke towards the Soviet positions, only to be flung back by a hurricane of fire, leaving many of their number wrecked and burning on the field of battle.

At the height of the fighting the young commander was seriously wounded. Though a hastily applied field dressing scarcely stopped the blood, he refused to leave the battlefield. Pale from loss of blood and suffering terrible pain, he continued to command the battalion.

The success of the 35th division in repulsing the enemy which suffered heavy losses was largely due to the operations of Ibárruri's battalion.

On September 2, after being seriously wounded for the second time at the village of Vlasovka, near Stalingrad, Ibárruri died.

For heroic bravery and exemplary conduct in the execution of orders in the field, Rubén Ruiz Ibárruri was posthumously awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

The following are some of the hero's letters from the front to his mother Dolores Ibárruri.

1

Eastern Front, June 30, 1941

"My dear ones!

"I take advantage of a spare minute to write you a few lines. You must not worry about me, I am quite all right.

"I must tell you how I long for the hour to come when the enemies of our socialist Motherland will be defeated,

and how proud I am to be able to take up arms in defence of our country, in the ranks of the Red Army....

"When you said goodbye to me, Mother, you told me not to be afraid. It seemed to me almost an insult, and I must tell you that my hand will not tremble when I kill these dogs....

"Quite a lot of parachutists have been dropped here in order to spread panic among the civilian population and to demoralize them, but the fascists do not know that in every Soviet citizen there is a Bolshevik.

"This is the kind of thing these murderers do. Not far from the village where we are stationed they got hold of a lad of twenty-five, dragged him away into the forest, first tortured him by burning his ears, then cut off his arms and head. That's what fascism means!

"Now I must close. I greet you with the words:

"'They shall not pass!'

"RUBÉN RUIZ"

2

Orel, July 8, 1941

"My dear ones!

"I think you will have received my first letter from the front. Now I am writing to you from Orel because I have been wounded in the arm. But don't think I am dying, I feel very well. It's a shell splinter above the left elbow and apparently it did not touch the bone.

"My main regret is that I have had to leave the front, for I have a mad desire to destroy these bandits.

"Once again I tell you, Mother, that I feel proud and honoured to be able to fight in the ranks of the great and invincible Red Army against the gendarme of humanity. I am convinced that here he will break his teeth, for as I have told you, here there lives in every woman, in every man, a hero, a Bolshevik.

"These people are astonishing. I tell you I am sometimes shaken to the depths of my soul. Such a people can never be defeated.

"Now I must close. Your loving son and brother embraces you and wishes you as much strength as possible to work for our common cause.

"RUBÉN"

YUGOSLAVIA IN STRUGGLE

The news of Hitler Germany's perfidious attack on the Soviet Union became known in German-occupied Belgrade early on the morning of June 22, 1941. By the end of the day leaflets appeared in the working-class districts calling for an armed struggle against the occupants to help the Soviet Union. This was an appeal issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and addressed to all the peoples of the country; later it spread to all corners of Yugoslavia. "The struggle of the Soviet Union," said the appeal, "is our struggle, the U.S.S.R. is fighting against your enemies, under whose yoke you languish....If you love freedom and independence, if you do not want to be the slaves of foreigners, if you want to free yourselves from fascist slavery, then help in every way the just struggle of the great peace-loving land of socialism, the Soviet Union."

From the first day of the war, the aggressor met with stubborn resistance on Soviet soil which compelled the fascist command to transfer more and more divisions to the Eastern Front, in this way weakening garrisons in the occupied countries, including Yugoslavia. To prevent the enemy from continuing this in the future the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (C.P.Y.) on July 4, 1941, took a decision to hasten the formation of partisan detachments throughout the country and commence military operations against the occupants to engage and wear down their forces.

The heroic efforts of the Yugoslav Communists resulted in an armed uprising which was launched on July 7, 1941, in the village of Bela Crkva in Serbia, and soon spread throughout that country. The C.C. of the C.P.Y. called on all workers and peasants and the youth to support the uprising of the Serbian people; "To battle," said

the call, "for such is our duty to the Soviet people who are fighting for our freedom."

Following the example of the Serbian patriots the other peoples rose in revolt: on July 13 the Montenegrin people, on July 22 the Slovenians and on July 27 the best sons and daughters of Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina joined the struggle, till all Yugoslavia was aflame with partisan warfare.

By September 1941 there were 64 partisan detachments, 9 independent battalions, 12 partisan companies and three partisan groups taking part in the heroic struggle against the invaders; the total strength was between 60,000 and 70,000 men and women fighters. Operations were led by the Supreme Headquarters of the Yugoslav Partisan Forces, headed by Josip Broz-Tito, Secretary of the C. C. of the C.P.Y.

The partisans inflicted tangible losses on the enemy. In the early days of the uprising Serbian partisans blew up petrol dumps at Smederovo and Tašmajdan and a munition dump in the latter town, they blew up a petrol dump and the railway line at Obrenovac, the viaduct at Ralja, a railway bridge at Male Ivance, an arsenal full of munition at Čačak; they derailed a troop train at Kragujevac, destroyed a hangar, 5 planes and a column of motor lorries at Jagodina; in a skirmish with a German unit they killed a captain and a colonel and wounded a general; they set fire to barracks in Belgrade, systematically cut cables, telegraph, telephone and electric power lines, interrupted enemy transport, etc. Similar things were happening in Montenegro, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia and Slovenia. Everywhere the fascist occupants felt that they were in a besieged fortress.

In a short time the strength of some of the partisan units increased to anything from 4,000 to 6,000 fighters. As they grew stronger partisan units launched regular military operations against big enemy formations.

The flames of partisan warfare grew ever stronger, the Yugoslav partisans earning undying glory by their heroic deeds. On November 20, 1941, Soviet partisans addressed them by radio: "We Russian partisans send our hearty

fraternal greetings to the partisans of Yugoslavia. We have heard of your heroic deeds in the struggle against the German fascists. We are confident that we, like you, will maintain this heroic struggle against our common enemy until we, together with the glorious Red Army, have finally and completely destroyed German fascism."

In November and December 1941 the occupants united their forces to launch an offensive against the partisans in Serbia. The offensive did not achieve its aim for although the enemy suffered heavy losses they were unable to crush the partisans.

By the end of 1941 the Yugoslav partisan army numbered about 80,000 fighters and held down 24 fascist divisions with a total strength of 400,000, in this way rendering fraternal aid to the Soviet Army.

In the course of this fierce struggle strong, mobile, regular army units were formed. The first of these, known as the 1st Proletarian Shock Brigade, was organized on December 22, 1941. All the nationalities of Yugoslavia were represented in the brigade which was, therefore, the personification of the unity of the peoples of the country in their struggle against fascism. Throughout 1942 new brigades were formed and by the end of the year they were organized into divisions and corps. Thus the Yugoslav People's Army of Liberation was created in the course of battle under the leadership of the Communist Party. The army had to overcome unbelievable privations and hardships and with honour it carried forward the banner of the free and independent People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the banner of victory over fascism.

The People's Army of Liberation caused heavy losses to the fascist occupants, on many occasions reducing their units to panic-stricken flight. Hitler's generals tried in vain to break the back of the army. The second and third offensives launched against the partisans in 1942 also ended in failure. In 1943 they made new and desperate efforts to crush the Yugoslav partisans, organizing their fourth and fifth offensives, the biggest of the war.

Again the fascists failed to achieve their aim. The units of the People's Army of Liberation broke through the

encirclement fighting like heroes, reorganized their forces and again started active operations against the occupants. The sixth offensive undertaken by the occupying forces at the end of 1943 also ended in failure.

When the fascists had become convinced that they were powerless to destroy the main forces of the People's Army of Liberation they tried to achieve this end by the destruction of the Supreme Headquarters of the Army. In May 1944 they dropped a parachute force in the town of Drvar where the Headquarters was situated. The partisans, however, annihilated almost the entire parachute force and the Supreme Headquarters was transferred to a place of safety with the help of Soviet airmen.

By this time the Soviet Army, continuing to deal crushing blows to the retreating fascist troops, was drawing near to Yugoslavia.

The People's Army of Liberation, that by the autumn of 1944 numbered 350,000, moved swiftly from the West to meet Soviet forces. In the fierce battles that ensued for the liberation of all Yugoslav territory and for the defeat of the fascist invaders, Soviet and Yugoslav troops fought shoulder to shoulder, rendering each other fraternal help.

Belgrade, turned by the Germans into a strong fortress, was liberated on October 20, 1944, by the heroic efforts of Yugoslav and Soviet troops.

The Yugoslav People's Army continued fighting until the fascist invaders were completely routed.

Yugoslav patriots, under the leadership of their Communist Party, made a splendid contribution to the great cause of victory over fascism. During the war the fascist occupants lost 450,000 men killed in Yugoslavia. Units of the Yugoslav Army captured from the enemy 4,630 guns, 13,396 machine-guns, 500,000 rifles, 7,150 mortars, 305 aeroplanes, 928 tanks, 20,000 motor vehicles and large quantities of other equipment.

At the cost of great sacrifice the Yugoslav people defended their liberty, honour and independence. In the People's War of Liberation Yugoslavia lost 1,706,000 men and women, one in every ten of the population.

Thousands of heroes from the ranks of the Yugoslav partisans earned undying glory; their immortal deeds were recognized by the whole people, who expressed their gratitude by the award of the title of People's Hero. The names of Sava Kovačević, Rade Končar, Ivo-Lola Ribar, Marko Oreskovič, Sonja Marinković, Vlado Cétković have been immortalized as town and street names, and as the names of factories.

The people called Sava Kovačević the "Yugoslav Chapayev." A true son of the people, he was a man of inexhaustible energy and unexampled courage, and was a talented army leader. From the very beginning of the uprising in Montenegro he was commander of the Nikšićski Partisan Detachment. Under his leadership the detachment spread fear and confusion among the occupants by its bold and tempestuous attacks and always emerged victor from the unequal struggle. Sava Kovačević never admitted a situation to be hopeless. In battle he knew only one word—Victory!

Sava Kovačević was always in the front ranks of his detachment on the most difficult sections. By his personal courage, with his shout of: "Forward, heroes!" he led his partisans to ever new deeds. In one battle Sava Kovačević with pistol in hand jumped on to the tank of the commander of an enemy armoured column and shouted: "Surrender or you will be destroyed!" The commander surrendered the whole column without firing a single shot.

When brigades were formed in 1942 Sava Kovačević was appointed the first commander of the 5th Montenegrin Brigade. By its crushing surprise attacks the brigade spread panic among the enemy forces. In 1943 Kovačević was appointed commander of the 3rd Division that earned distinction during the Germans' fifth offensive. In these battles Sava Kovačević died the death of a hero.

Marko Oreskovič is another hero whose memory is dear to the peoples of Yugoslavia. He was the organizer and leader of the first partisan detachments in Lika Region. The working people of all parts of Lika Region heard his fiery speeches: "To battle! The Communist Par-

ty calls you to arms! We shall conquer, for our Russian brothers and the whole freedom-loving world are with us!"

Marko Oreskovič persistently trained his fighters in the art of striking with certainty. He shared the experience he had gained in Spain when he had fought against fascism in the ranks of the International Brigade. Oreskovič was an experienced political worker and soon became the political commissar of the Croatian Partisan Headquarters. He gave up his life for the sake of victory over fascism.

The name of Branko Krsmanović is dear to the working people of Yugoslavia. He organized the Kragujevac, the 1st and 2nd Šumadija detachments and the Belič-Company that became famous for their daring and their skill in battle. He was beloved by the Serbian partisans for his courage and his solicitude for people. When the Serbian Partisan Headquarters was formed Branko Krsmanović became a member of the staff and later died doing his duty as a Communist and soldier.

The Soviet people, together with the people of Yugoslavia, honour the memory of the sons and daughters of Yugoslavia, the heroes of the war of liberation against fascism.

"FOR YOUR AND OUR FREEDOM!"

In May 1943 the Union of Polish Patriots in the U.S.S.R. set about forming the 1st Polish Infantry Division, which was named the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Division. The Soviet command supplied the division with the necessary arms and equipment. It was composed entirely of volunteers. On its banner, the national banner of Poland, Polish women embroidered the words: "For your and our freedom!"

In September the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Division went to the front. In its first engagement it distinguished itself by its exceptional bravery and determination, and fulfilled its battle task with honour.

Three Polish soldiers were decorated by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. with the highest award, the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. They were Wladyslaw Wysocki, a regular Polish officer, who led his battalion into the attack and captured an enemy strong point, continuing to command his men after being seriously wounded; Major Juliusz Giubner, a veteran of the Spanish war, who showed great bravery, refusing to leave the battlefield even when seriously wounded; the girl soldier Aniela Kszywoń, who died in a burning lorry while saving wounded soldiers of the division and staff papers.

Two hundred and forty-two Soviet orders and medals were awarded to the Polish fighting men for personal bravery during their first battle.

A newspaper published for Polish troops in the U.S.S.R. wrote:

"These Orders of Lenin, of the Red Banner, of the Patriotic War, and of the Red Star are proof that the alliance of Russian and Polish democracy that has already existed for many generations has now become an alliance of peoples. The blood shed in defending our common cause against advancing German imperialism is a cement that binds nations more firmly together than the paragraphs of treaties.

"...If a Ukrainian peasant saysto a Pole: 'For centuries the Polish landlords deprived us of our freedom and our language,' we shall answer: 'We have shed our blood together for the common cause in the most terrible war our peoples have ever known.'

"To the Byelorussian we shall say: 'We have wiped out the shame of the pacification* of the Byelorussian villages by fighting on your land for your freedom.'

"To the Lithuanian, if he were to remind us of the days we cannot remember without shame, when crowds in the streets of Warsaw shouted to Rydz Smigly,** 'Leader,

* *Pacification* here means the policy of terror and violence towards the working people in the frontier areas of Poland.—*Ed.*

** Rydz Smigly—one of the leaders of the fascist clique that ruled Poland from 1926 to 1939.—*Ed.*

lead us against Kovno,' we shall reply that we have now marched on Kovno from the East not as invaders but as friends, together with the Red Army, and on our banner are written the words: 'For your and our freedom!'"

After the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Division, the 2nd Polish Infantry Division named after Jan Henryk Dombrowski, the tank brigade named after the heroes of Westerplatte,* and other units that composed the 1st Polish Corps were formed. In March 1944, the Polish units in the U.S.S.R. were combined into a Polish Army.

The Polish troops who fought on Soviet soil in cooperation with the Soviet Army covered themselves with glory, sparing neither their blood nor life itself for the sake of victory over the common enemy of the freedom-loving peoples.

Here are some excerpts from a book by the Polish woman journalist Janina Broniewska, *Notes of a War Correspondent.*

"Mańkowska, a girl submachine-gunner who has been decorated with the Soviet Order of the Red Star and the Polish Cross for Valour, is telling me her story. I am trying to get it down. My hand is numb and I don't know shorthand, but every word here is a gem. I am sitting on a stool with a notebook on my knees. Mańkowska is seated on another stool. She has blue eyes. She is well built, not very tall, and she doesn't talk, she shoots out her sentences in bursts, telegraph style. I must try to convey that style:

"'Posted to 2nd Infantry Regiment. Joined a company of girl submachine-gunners. October 11. Night. The regiment was in a ravine. We went for straw. Across a bog. Had to be careful. Bullets were flying about but we didn't mind. Morning the artillery started. Phew! Nearly burst our eardrums. Then the infantry attacked. Our job was guarding the O. P. We went at the double. Big air raid. Wasn't a bit scared. I'm used to battle.

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* A defence area near Danzig heroically defended by the Polish Army in 1939 against the onslaught of the Hitler troops.—*Ed.*

"'Been in it since 1939. Only ten of us left. Had to get them together. Managed it somehow. Still firing. Nothing to worry about. That night another attack. Went out for wounded. On a potato field. Across a bog. Brought them back to the ravine on our capes. Two hundred altogether. Morning of the thirteenth. Artillery fire and air raids. Young lieutenant at the observation post. Got a shell splinter out of his arm with my finger-nails. He didn't want to go off to the dressing station. Worst time was five o'clock that evening. Five hundred wounded on the potato field. Tanks. Couldn't get to the wounded. Under fire, couldn't even lift your head. Soviet comrades relieved us. Back to the rear. Six of our girls at the head of the regiment. A Soviet colonel stopped his car, got out himself and ordered the driver to give us a lift. All the way to the village. Pretty good, eh?'

"Yes, pretty good. But what had she said about herself? Only that she had got a splinter out of someone's arm 'with her finger-nails.' And that she hadn't been scared during a big raid because she was 'used to battle.' What else could I put into my article? Think up a smooth dialogue out of nothing? Deepen the psychology, introduce something poetic?

"Well, this is only the beginning. Let's see what is to come.

"It happened only a month ago, when we were sending troop trains from Byelorussia into the Ukraine. A bottleneck had formed at the Kiev junction. Though the railway lines were repaired after every raid they could not ensure normal traffic for reinforcements to the front. There was a particularly bad stoppage at the local station of Darnitsa. Nine trains were waiting there under threat of enemy air attacks.

"The first to appear, of course, was a Focke-Wulf. Then several German photographic reconnaissance planes came over. They were spotted by men of the first anti-aircraft battalion although they were flying at over twenty thousand feet.

"Two tiny silver dots. In such cases one can only crane one's neck and swear juicily.

"'Make a nice face, lads. They're taking your picture, the bastards,' someone tried to relieve the helpless artillerymen's fury. Everyone knew that no gun could reach the German photographers at that height.

"The night was moonlit. A report came in that two hundred Junkers-88 were heading for Kiev. Would they call at Darnitsa or not?

"They did. We could see the golden blaze of anti-aircraft fire over Kiev when parachute flares floated down over Darnitsa, flooding the station in a bluish-white glare.

"The 1st Anti-Aircraft Battalion opened fire.

"There is a legend in Kiev about the Polish anti-aircraft gunners who defended the civil population of the Ukrainian capital from enemy air attack. A legend about our heroic artillerymen, about the gun and gun-crew that were blasted off their truck by a bomb. Though the gun-layer was mortally wounded, the gun raised its barrel in a last, dying salute and fired two final rounds at the enemy.

"'For your and our freedom!' Yes, for your and our freedom, comrades-in-arms, who fought with us on that moonlit night, when the barrels of the guns grew red-hot with constant firing.

"Burning oil tanks exploded in streams of liquid fire. Dust and rubble from the explosions choked the gun barrels, flying iron and shrapnel damaged the breeches and sights. Soviet and Polish soldiers carried boxes of ammunition out of burning trucks, wiping the blood out of their eyes.

"Railway trucks plunged off the rails into huge craters, but the guns went on thundering. The soldiers shouted to one another in two languages, and ran across to the most dangerous spots in spite of screaming dive-bombers and falling bombs.

"One after another the Junkers, wings or tail blown off by a shell, came spinning down and crashed helplessly on the road or in the forest. They would never reach Kiev, never again would they roar over Warsaw sowing death.

"Darnitsa. Who of those who saw it or took part in it will one day describe that battle? Today one can only write a brief line in the list of military operations:

"'The 1st Anti-Aircraft Battalion carried out its task.'

"This was April 8, 1944.

"We were sitting in the tall grass of a forest glade, looking through the regiment diary, which contained the complete history of the regiment from the day of its formation in the Oka Region up to yesterday (today's history would probably not be written till the evening). It was rather like a school notebook with a firm cover. Sketches, copies of orders, descriptions of the most important events. A biography of Colonel Piotrowski, commander of the regiment.

"'You ought to have seen him in battle....'

"At last! Now they might start talking instead of my having to drag it out of them word by word.

"'Why?' I asked encouragingly.

"'This is why! At Lenino we had to climb out of the trenches to relieve the fellows in front. We had never been in battle before and the fire was something terrific. Kaniewics came into the trench and with him was our old man, Colonel Piotrowski. One fat, the other thin. They came up and started talking to us nicely about the weather clearing up and the mist thinning. But the fire got even heavier, bullets whistling over all the time. And they just stood there at their full height, and even stretched their necks to see what was happening in front of the parapet. The men had no experience, they'd never seen any fighting in their lives. It was hard to force yourself to stand up above the parapet, the earth itself seemed to drag you down to the bottom of the trench. I got wild and said to the old man: "Comrade Colonel, maybe I could get an ammunition box for you to stand on, you'll be even taller then." But he only waved his hand and muttered something unprintable under his breath. And the firing got even fiercer. But they didn't care, just went on standing there on the parapet. The men watched them and began straightening

up themselves. Then I realized I shouldn't have much difficulty in taking them over the top....'

"'Do you remember that sergeant?' Zigmund joined in the conversation. 'Planes were circling over us all the time, spraying us with bullets. We just burrowed our heads into the earth. And near by there was a shallow trench with a Soviet section in it. Remember?'

"'Yes, I do. That sergeant you mention was sitting astride the parapet handing out food to his men. Just as if he was in some canteen or other. They only stopped eating when those bastards started dive-bombing, so they could give them what for with their rifles and machine-guns. The Nazis didn't like it much. Even a rifle bullet can go through your fuel tank at that height, you know. Then the chaps went back to their grub.'

"'Only they had to scrape a lot of dirt out of their mess tins first,' someone said.

"'Wait a bit. The next day we got relieved, when that order came through for us to withdraw to the rear. The Soviet units came up to take over the place. They calmly examined every nook and corner. One of them climbed on the roof of a pill-box and started jumping up and down on it. "Not bad, pretty strong," he says, standing right on top. And the German mortars were firing, and there was a machine-gun bashing away. But those fellows who had been at Stalingrad didn't turn a hair!'

"'Had a bit of experience!' as they put it, I suggested.

"'That's right.'

"Near the traffic controller on the highroad we saw three wounded Red Army men. We gave them a lift. All three had been wounded in the hand. Two of them were Ukrainians, one Uzbek with some exotic-sounding name and surname. The Uzbek had lost two fingers from his left hand. The bandage was brown with dried blood.

"'We were fighting yesterday twenty-five kilometres beyond Kovel. It was very hot. But now the fascists are running so hard you can't keep up with them,' said the Uzbek, speaking Russian with difficulty and gesturing with his bandaged hand.

"'I got a bullet right through my palm. But I must get back to the front soon. I don't know whether I'll be in time. The Germans are in a bad way now,' said one of the Ukrainians.

"We got into conversation. Did they know about our Polish Army? Of course, they did. And it had a very good reputation. We sat close together, shoulder to shoulder. We were united by mutual confidence. Theirba ttle was our battle, their victory, our victory.

"Wrapped in clouds of dust we rattled over the bumpy road into the next town. When we said goodbye we shook hands, right or left, whichever one they could use. The Uzbek regarded us with friendship in his slanting eyes. A very sentimental thought occurred to me:

"'You lost your two fingers on one of our roads, lad, and perhaps you'd never heard about the slogan on our regimental banners: 'For your and our freedom!'"

THE EXPLOIT OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE

Albania, which was occupied but not subjugated by the fascist invaders, responded to the heroic anti-fascist struggle of the Soviet people with a mighty upsurge of the national-liberation movement. The heart and soul of this movement was the Communist Party, which was formed in the autumn of 1941 in the crucible of the popular resistance to those who tried to enslave the country. In their very first appeal to the people following the establishment of the Party the Communists declared: "Open battle is the only attitude to adopt against the forces of occupation. Every son of our country must become a soldier in the war of national liberation." And the flames of this holy war, which from those days onward blazed up with renewed and unparalled force, lit up the whole of Albania and forced aside the black night of fascist terror.

At the call, and following the example, of the Communists, thousands of workers, handicraftsmen, shepherds and husbandmen made their way to the forests

and hills, where partisan units were formed. Being without arms and ammunition, the only way they could get them was in battle, from the enemy. And they had to reckon not only with the ferocity of the enemy, who were well armed and superior in numbers, but also with the baseness of traitors in the service of the Nazis. But the people's urge towards liberation was unyielding, and the partisans, manfully overcoming all difficulties and the severest privation, made life intolerable for the occupiers, giving them not a moment's peace whether on the highroads or in the towns.

By the autumn of 1942, over 40 partisan units, numbering more than 10,000 men, were in action, and they had succeeded in clearing of the fascists a number of the country's southern areas, including those of Peza, Skrapari, Kurveleshi, Martanesh, and Kortcha.

By the summer of 1943 the partisan units numbered 40,000 fighters, a figure equal to about 4 per cent of the population. Out of them, on the initiative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, whose General Secretary was Enver Hoxha, national hero of the Albanian people, a National Liberation Army was formed.

Its General Staff, which was established on July 10, 1943, subordinated all the partisan units to its authority, and reorganized them at first into brigades and battalions, and later into divisions and army corps. In the fire of battle the patriots of Albania had created a regular army, a people's army, and were now in a position to inflict still severer blows on the enemy.

The Hitlerites were furious and replaced the Italian fascists as the occupiers of the country. They undertook one counter-offensive after another, and in the winter of 1943-44 attempted to encircle and destroy the chief bases of the National Liberation Army, flinging four divisions against it in the decisive direction. All the attacks of Hitlerites, however, ended in failure. Severe losses were all they could show for their efforts. The patriots of Albania suffered acutely from a shortage of food, uniforms, arms and ammunition, but they fought with supreme daring and ability, preferring rather to die

than to withdraw without orders from their commanders. Hard fighting went on during the winter, but the plans of the enemy were reduced to nothing.

The following spring the Hitlerites tried to take their revenge—but with equal success. Their counter-offensive was beaten off.

In the summer, the National Liberation Army itself undertook the offensive, which ended in victory and the liberation of South Albania.

By the autumn of 1944, when the Soviet forces, after sweeping their native land clear of the Nazi invaders, were dealing them crushing blows in Poland and in the Balkans, some two-thirds of the territory of Albania had already been liberated. But the Hitlerites stubbornly refused to give way. For 19 days the Albanian People's Army waged a heroic struggle for their country's capital, Tirana, which the enemy attempted to hold by turning every building into a fortress. However, the valour of the patriots overcame the fury of the Hitlerites, who were being steadily driven to destruction. On November 17, 1944, the units of the National Liberation Army freed Tirana, and November 29 saw the fall of the last big inhabited centre held by the occupation forces, namely, Skodra. That day has gone down in history as Albania's Day of Liberation.

In the battles against the fascist enslavers the people of Albania lost many of their best sons. Among those who died the death of the valiant were such national heroes as Vasil Shanto, Kajo Karafili, Mustafa Matohiti, Qemal Stafa, Misto Mame, and Vojo Kushi, the memory of whom is held dear by all freedom-loving people. More than a third of the country's villages and towns were burnt to the ground by the fascist occupiers, who, furthermore, plundered or wrecked the country's wealth—the work of many generations. Boundless were the difficulties overcome by the Albanian people as they fought, arms in hand, to win their liberty, and never will the glory fade that surrounds their feats of valour performed in the battle against the common enemy of the nations.

ALCIDE CERVI, HIS SONS AND FRIENDS

The fraternal solidarity between the Italian workers and the Soviet people which was so much to the fore during the mass movement of protest against foreign intervention in 1918-20 was again vividly expressed during the war against fascism.

It is significant that the powerful upsurge of the wartime partisan movement, which achieved full and victorious completion in the heroic struggle of the Italian people against fascism, began with an unusual and moving demonstration in honour of the October Revolution, and in defence of the Soviet Union. As Luigi Longo, outstanding leader of the Italian partisan movement and assistant General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, writes in his book *The Italian People in Struggle*, November 7, 1943, was celebrated all over the country by intensification of military action and propaganda work by all partisan detachments.

"On the night of November 7, fighting slogans appeared in huge letters on many buildings in Rome: old Pasquino * had been painted red, red banners were fluttering everywhere; lightning meetings were held in some of the biggest of the city squares under the protection of armed partisans. Elsewhere on that day daring raids were made on barracks, trains and lorries. Many German and Italian fascists were killed in ambushes and in open battle. In some places, for example, in Borgosesia, Corio and Saluzzo, arrested partisans and anti-fascists were freed from prison.

"Two months passed. The partisan movement grew at astonishing speed. The struggle was fought everywhere. More and more fascist soldiers were killed; the partisans often suffered heavy losses too. The enemy resorted to harsh repressive measures. But for every ten partisans who were killed a hundred came to replace them, and the partisan forces tied down thousands of fascist troops."

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* The statue at Rome of the craftsman Pasquino, who used to jest wittily against the gentry while he worked.—*Ed.*

Among the many human documents that record the heroic deeds of Italy's anti-fascist fighters, *My Seven Sons* by the Italian peasant-Communist Alcide Cervi is outstanding. Father of seven heroes of the resistance movement who were executed by the fascists, Alcide Cervi made an invaluable sacrifice to the cause of freedom, a sacrifice of everything that was dearest to him in life.

Here we publish some excerpts from his book.

"Lucia Sarzi" [a Communist woman organizing the resistance movement in the district—*Ed.*] "was an uncompromising fighter but she knew how to tackle people with a joke when it was needed. Of all my sons Antenore was the quietest and least sociable. Yet Lucia knew how to shake him up and make him laugh. He kept racking his brains about expanding our sowing area and Lucia told him: 'I know how to manage it: throw all our mountains into the sea and make Italy one big plain.'

"Antenore burst out laughing, and after that he lost his shyness when talking to her.

"But sometimes she and Gelindo had so much to talk about they could never finish. He maintained there would also be communism in Italy, but that our country had certain peculiarities that would affect its development. Our agriculture was quite different in character....

"'But we shall have collective farms too. We shall call them agricultural cooperatives,' he told Lucia. 'Just think of it. One big farm all the way from here to the River Po! We'll fill in all the ravines and level the land. When dinner-time comes round you'll be able to jump on a motorbike and ride straight home!'

"My sons regarded Soviet Russia with veneration. They saw that it was a country of social justice, that there man had won his freedom. Everything of which our fathers and the first supporters of socialism in Emilia had dreamed had in Russia become a reality, there the laws served the good of the common man, not the interests of the parasitical rich.

"In our family we always considered that men were equal and ought to unite together and fight for progress. I was never humble before the power of the rich, nor were

my children. We lived in harmony, stood up for one another, and I always acted towards my children as if they were my equals and gave them complete freedom.

"We saw that the peoples of Russia were a united family, where everyone was equal, where people respected their democratic state and obeyed its laws while at the same time enjoying freedom. We thought things over and levelled the land, and that gave us a bigger harvest. They did it like that in the Land of Soviets. We were the first in our part of the country to buy a tractor. Stalin in Russia had said it was better to use tractors because he saw the new age demanded it. Andrea Costa had said one must keep pace with the times. We always remembered that. That is why we became Communists and advanced peasants.

"Ferdinando was fond of bees.

"'Their society is arranged justly,' he used to say. 'They all work, like in the Land of Soviets.'

"...That was how we used to think in the days when we still knew only a little about the Soviet Union. But when we began to read about Soviet life, we found that we in Praticello, without realizing it ourselves, were following the same path. It was a wonderful discovery! If eight Catholic peasants here, in Praticello, could follow the path by which Russia had achieved socialism, it must be a law of nature. It was the spirit of the time, and everyone was influenced by it, even though they might not be aware of it. We peasants understand that. Even then we felt that our family was somehow a little part of socialism. That is why in Emilia they so often give their children Russian names. The peasants have a deep respect for the Soviet Union, they see it as the embodiment of the ideas of our early Socialists.

"One day in 1943 they said on Moscow radio that the hour of liberation was not so far away, and that the peasants ought to sow more wheat so there would be no famine, so there would be enough to feed the hungry people. After that broadcast my sons went out and sowed wheat on land that was to have grown clover. That's how they went about things, without any waste of time!

"When Moscow radio put out the call: 'Death to the Hitlerite invaders and the fascist traitors!' my sons decided it was no good hanging about and we ought to get down to business.

"...We had a visit from a man called Dante Castelluci, who while in exile in Calabria had met Lucia Sarzi's brother. Castelluci had lived for several years in France. He was an educated fellow, and inventive too. He was good at drawing and writing. With him and Lucia my lads worked out a plan of escape for the prisoners in the Fossoli camp.

"They crept up to the camp at night and cut the barbed wire. Castelluci started signalling to the prisoners with birdcalls. A whole group of them came out. Women were waiting for the prisoners on the road with bicycles. Then they all rode home to our house.

"If our house had been like a barrack before, now it was like the League of Nations. There were British, Americans, Russians, New Zealanders—everybody. And they all spoke their own languages. We heated tubs of water. Our guests washed and shaved. We gave them new clothes. Then they all sat down to table.

"And no one was afraid.... When you think of it now, much of it seems unbelievable. In those days, there were old women standing on every country road, at every house, keeping an eye open for strange figures in makeshift uniforms, or for young lads with long unkempt beard , like the partisans used to have. The women would be sure to come up to them and ask if they needed anything. And yet everyone knew that assisting the partisans was punished with death. But that was what our people were like in Emilia, and our family was no exception.

"Over supper, with the help of Castelluci, who had served as an interpreter, we asked the escaped prisoners what they intended doing. Would they stay with us or try and break through to their own men? Nearly all of them wanted to get away, only the Russians expressed a desire to take part in the partisan struggle.

"Once again Aldo had an idea. It was hard to find the way to Toscana, where there were allied troops. So Aldo

advised the prisoners to follow the high tension lines so as not to get lost.

"Before saying goodbye the prisoners played with the children and left us a few things as souvenirs. We gave each man three days food for the road and enough clothing to protect him from the rain and the cold.

"The Russians stayed with us. Aldo had the idea of carrying out an operation with their help. They decided to attack the secretary of the fascist organization Reggio.

"The Cervi house had become an International group headquarters. At midnight we used to listen to Moscow radio playing the anthem of the Soviet Union and the *Internationale*. How we wished they could have heard us, that they could have known in Moscow of the existence of the Cervi house and how we were fighting the common enemy....

"Everybody was in high spirits. Anatoly (one of the Russians) was cursing the fascists because they had offered a reward of five kilograms of salt to anyone who would betray a partisan.

"He jumped up and said to Genoveffa: 'If you've got nothing to salt the soup with, you can cut off my ear and put that in the pot.' Everyone laughed.

"Then everyone began talking about his country and the land there. Castelluci told them about Calabria, about its stony soil, about the shepherds, and about a fruit that grows there that we had never seen—the fig. It was like a plum, he said, with prickles and no stone. It was hard to imagine a fruit with no stone, and prickles.

"'But there is such a fruit,' Dante Castelluci replied. 'When the war's over I'll invite you all to my village to eat figs.'

"And now our house had turned into something like a food factory. Gelindo and Antenore were slaughtering cattle nearly every day. We salted the meat so that it would keep better and we should always have some ready to give any prisoners of war that were leaving. Ferdinando supplied them with honey. The women baked bread three times a day. The foreigners divided up into two teams. In one there were the British and the South Africans—

they kneaded the dough and helped with the baking: the other team was composed of Russians, who made butter. We all lived together in peace and concord—not like the United Nations nowadays.

"From time to time we went out on night operations. Sometimes, my sons and other partisans would disguise themselves in German uniform. One night Aldo and two of the Russians got in a car and drove to a village where there were a lot of fascists from the Republican Guard. Those parasites spent all day sitting in taverns. Our fellows walked into one of the biggest taverns in the centre of the village, stopped in the doorway and shouted:

"'Any fascists here?'

"They all jumped up and clicked their heels, kicking over the chairs in their hurry. Some of them were so drunk they could hardly stand.

"Someone shouted: 'To our German allies! Heil Hitler!'

"And they all took it up: 'Heil Hitler!'and stuck out their arms.

"Our fellows waited for everyone to finish shouting. They just stood there with faces like stone. Then they walked into the room and, covering the fascists with submachine-guns, disarmed them all.

"The fascists were taken aback and just could not understand what they had done wrong in the eyes of their German friends. But not one of them said a word. They never even thought of resisting. They just stood there with their hands up. And there were nearly thirty of them against three of our fellows. One of the Russians, Victor, couldn't help shouting as they went out of the tavern loaded up with weapons: 'We're partisans!'

"But even that explanation didn't wake them up. Our fellows got safely into their car and drove off. No one gave chase."

HEROES OF THE RESISTANCE

IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Among the exhibits in the Revolution Museum in Moscow there is an aircraft bomb filled with sand. It was discovered in one of the streets of the Soviet capital in December 1941, after an air raid. In the sand that some friendly hand had put there instead of explosives there was a Czech dictionary—a silent but eloquent message from the unknown hero who had risked his life to save Soviet people from the explosion of at any rate one bomb.

During the war the Soviet Union had many such selfless allies among the workers of occupied Czechoslovakia.

The Nazis foresaw this when preparing their attack on the U.S.S.R. The day the Nazi avalanche of tanks, guns and aircraft smashed through the frontiers of the Soviet land, Hitler ordered mass arrests in Prague.

Cut off though they were from the minds of the people they had enslaved but not subdued, the Nazi officials could not help knowing that aggression against the Soviet Union would arouse determined resistance among the masses of the Czech people and their vanguard, the Communists. They tried to check the growth of the anti-fascist resistance and strangle it by bloody terrorism. But the concentration camps, prison cells and gallows only fanned the sacred anger of the people.

"The situation has become so acute," the Gestapo reported from Prague, "that an uprising may occur in the Protectorate in the very near future."

Hitler's gangster-like attack on the U.S.S.R. called forth a fresh wave of active resistance to the Nazi army of occupation in Czechoslovakia. It was then that sabotage at war factories and wrecking of transport began to occur on a mass scale. Not a day passed without some disaster occurring on the railways to the East. Trains carrying tanks to the front would be blown up, rolling stock and locomotives broke down, aircraft caught fire in transit.

The Nazis tried to drown the forces of popular resistance in blood. "The piles of corpses are growing," wrote

Julius Fučik. "They are numbered no longer in tens and hundreds, but in thousands. The smell of constantly flowing blood tickles the nostrils of these two-legged animals. They 'work' from morning to night, they even 'work' on Sundays. Now they all go about in S.S. uniform, this is a fête day for them, a triumph of destruction. They are sending workers, teachers, peasants, writers, civil servants to their death; they are massacring men, women and children; they kill whole families, burn whole villages. Leaden death roams the country, like the plague, and spares no one."

But even the most monstrous crimes could not crush the Czech people's spirit of resistance. Those who fell in the struggle were immediately replaced by new fearless fighters.

In the vanguard, as usual, were the Communists. And the Communists bore the brunt of the Nazi executioners' fury. In four months alone, from June to October 1941, the Gestapo arrested over eleven thousand Communists. In October, when the Nazi hordes were swarming towards Moscow, another ten thousand members of the Communist Party were thrown into Gestapo prisons.

Three successive central committees of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia fell into Gestapo hands. Communist heroes were tortured and sent to the gallows. But the Party lived on, and fought on, and again and again its steel ranks produced experienced and unwavering fighters to lead the struggle.

In the concentration camps and Gestapo prisons 25,000 Communists were done to death, 60,000 endured inhuman tortures.

But the struggle continued until victory was won.

IN RUMANIA

During the Second World War the Rumanian people conducted an irreconcilable struggle against the anti-Soviet war, for national independence, and for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship of Antonescu. The struggle took diverse forms.

The workers committed acts of sabotage at munitions factories, in the coal-mines and at the port of Constanta. Large strikes were carried out in the face of the harshest police and military suppression. In 1942, 12,000 Petrosani miners and the workers of Anina went on strike. At one of the country's biggest iron and steel works, in the town of Reşiţa, the power station was put out of action.

There was no peace in the main oil-producing region of the country. In the Prahova Valley fires broke out. Workers of the J.A.R. aircraft works produced aircraft with serious defects. Whole trainloads of aircraft manufactured by that firm were sent back from the front. Acts of sabotage occurred at the Lemetr Plant in Bucharest and at the Târgovişte arsenal.

One of the forms of resistance to the anti-Soviet war was mass desertion from the Rumanian army, which became particularly widespread after the defeat of Hitler's armies at Stalingrad.

At the beginning of 1943, the Rumanian Communist Party, which had been leading the resistance movement from the very start of the fascist terror, formed the "Anti-Hitlerite Patriotic Front." An underground newspaper *Rominia Liberă* (*Free Rumania*) was organized.

A broad patriotic movement spread among the Rumanian prisoners of war on Soviet territory. With the consent of the Soviet Government a Rumanian volunteer division of ex-prisoners of war was created. Known as the Tudor Vladimirescu Division, it took part in the liberation of Transylvania, as well as of Hungary and Czechoslovakia. For its services in the field the division was named the Debrecen Division and on May 3, 1954, was decorated with the Order of the Red Banner.

The national-liberation struggle of the Rumanian people developed on an ever broader scale when Soviet troops reached the Rumanian frontier. The partisan detachments formed in the Caraş Mountains, the Braşov-Ploeşti region, in Oltenia and elsewhere struck harder blows at the enemy. The Mărăşeşti detachment operating in the Oravita area attacked German food and ammuni-

tion transports. In June-July 1944, partisans in the Braşov-Ploeşti area blew up seven German fuel trains and halted traffic on the Ploeşti-Faurei-Brăila line. The authorities were forced to send two regiments to deal with them. Another partisan group that carried out successful operations in the Ploeşti area was the Carpăţi detachment, which derailed several fuel trains and rendered direct support in the rear to the advancing Soviet troops.

Besides the partisan groups, detachments of Patriotic Guards were formed under the leadership of Rumanian Communists. These detachments were supplied with arms and ammunition by a group of patriotic soldiers and officers in a regiment stationed at Turnu-Măgurele.

The mass anti-fascist movement that functioned underground until the liberation of Rumania by the Soviet Army developed later into active operations against fascism by the Rumanian people's army. In cooperation with units of the Soviet armed forces fifteen Rumanian divisions fought until final victory over Hitler Germany.

IN BULGARIA

The onslaught of the fascist hordes on the Soviet Union greatly stimulated the struggle for national liberation in Bulgaria. Bulgarian patriots, inspired by the heroism of the Soviet people and anxious to help them in their desperate struggle with the common enemy of mankind, intensified their resistance to the Nazi invaders and their hangers-on, the fascist rulers of Bulgaria.

In July and August 1941, patriotic groups in Sofia committed nearly thirty acts of sabotage. A Nazi fuel train was destroyed at Varna Station. Responding to the call of the Workers' Party, Bulgarian workers took systematic steps to reduce production intended for Germany, wrecked machinery, and sabotaged traffic on railways serving the Germans. The peasants concealed cattle and grain, gave incorrect information about their harvests, and did everything they could to prevent the fulfilment of government orders for the Hitlerites.

The Nazis, who had thought Bulgaria would provide them with a reliable strategic base, soon realized that here, too, they were treading on dangerous ground. The partisan movement that sprang up in the summer of 1941 took a heavy toll of the enemy. Growing month by month, it was a force to be reckoned with by 1943. According to Nazi records, in January 1943, the Bulgarian partisans committed 12 acts of sabotage, in February the figure rose to 40, in March to 83, in August to 187, in September to 214, in October to 274. More than once the big partisan formations built up in the course of 1943-44 engaged police and government troops in open battle. In September 1943 alone there were nearly thirty full-scale operations of this kind. Thousands of fascists paid for their crimes at the hands of the partisans. "If Hitler and King Boris failed to send a single Bulgarian soldier to the Eastern Front, it was largely because their principal forces were engaged in fighting the partisans in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia," said Georgi Dimitrov later.

The fascists tried to destroy the national-liberation movement. Tsvetko Radoinov, Anton Ivanov, Atanas Romanov, Pyotr Chengelov and many other fine sons of the Bulgarian people were done to death in fascist prisons. Khristo Mikhailov, Commander-in-Chief of the People's Liberation Army, was killed in a skirmish with the police. Svilen Rusev, Lubomir Barymov, Lilyana Dimitrova, Yordanka Chankova and many more heroes of the struggle against fascism fell in battle. Between January 1, 1942, and September 4, 1944, over 64,000 people were arrested and thrown into prison; fascist courts condemned 12,861 people, most of them Communists, to death. Thousands of Bulgarian anti-fascists were murdered without trial. The heads of partisans who had been tortured to death were stuck up in the squares to terrorize the population. But nothing could break the people's will to overthrow fascist tyranny and destroy the barbaric fascist regime.

In the fire of struggle the Bulgarian Communists forged all the progressive forces of the people into a united anti-fascist front, known as the Patriotic Front. It was based

on a communist-led alliance of the working class and the peasantry. As a result of the armed popular uprising of September 9, 1944, the Patriotic Front took over the government of the country. The anti-imperialist and anti-fascist revolution that took place in the golden September days of 1944 swept away the reactionary power of capital.

After the liberation of their country Bulgarian troops took an active part in the common struggle of the peoples for the destruction of fascism, and fought in a number of battles as true comrades-in-arms of the Soviet Army.

IN HUNGARY

At the end of June 1941, Bocskai, an anti-aircraft gunner in Horthy's army, made the following statement:

"Why should I be here? I shall never fire at a Russian aircraft.... If I have to go to war against the Russians, I shall never fire at my Russian brothers.... I know which way to point my rifle if I am sent to war."

Naturally he was at once court-martialled.

The Hungarian state archives contain records of thousands of cases of refusal to serve in the Horthy army and fight against the Soviet Union, and of sympathy with the Soviet Army. A report sent to group headquarters on March 1, 1942, by the commander of the 8th Army Corps, stating that the 100th and 102 nd infantry divisions were demanding permission to leave the front speaks eloquently of the mood among the soldiers Horthy sent to the Soviet-German front. In an order to his division commanders the corps commander wrote without daring to resort to threats: "The soldiers want to go home on April 1. Unfortunately it is impossible...."

Hungarian soldiers quite often refused to fight either at the front or against the partisans. In the spring of 1942, for example, a despatch from the commander of the 44th Infantry Regiment Lieutenant-Colonel Pulisz reported that during an engagement with Soviet partisans his men had hidden ammunition for the guns.

The feeling of solidarity with the Soviet people among

the masses of the Hungarian workers showed itself vividly both at the front and inside the country.

In a circular dated January 31, 1942, Horthy's minister of the interior directed administrative, gendarme and police organizations to pay special attention to the fact that soldiers returning from the front were giving out various Soviet badges, and that "citizens with communist sympathies" were wearing these badges on the inside of their lapels. The lightest penalty one could expect if caught was beating up and imprisonment, but ordinary men and women took that risk for the sake of expressing their feelings. Others, and there were not a few of them, sought and found practical ways of helping the Soviet people in their arduous struggle.

Every day something went wrong on the railway lines leading to the East. Fires broke out that destroyed fuel and military stores, troop trains were wrecked. Production of useless ammunition and damage to complex machinery were widespread at the factories. Partisan groups in various parts of the country fought valiantly against the fascist aggressors, and by 1944 were brought together in more than ten big partisan formations.

Heart and soul of the resistance movement in Hungary were the Communists. Many of them were arrested by the fascists and died in agony, retaining to their last breath their faith in the victory of truth.

THE GERMAN ANTI-NAZIS AND THEIR SOVIET COMRADES-IN-ARMS

The brotherly solidarity between progressive Germans and Soviet people during the difficult years of the war showed itself in many ways, particularly in the help rendered by German anti-Nazis to Soviet prisoners of war.

As early as 1942, secret links had been established between Soviet citizens confined in the Darmstadt labour camps and the German anti-Nazis. Their leader, a Darmstadt Communist worker named Mann, later executed by

the Nazis, helped his friends from the U.S.S.R. to listen to Moscow radio broadcasts.

At about the same time a friendship sprang up between the inmates of the Borsig-Rheinmetall Plant's labour camp in Berlin and an underground group of anti-Nazis led by a Communist called Dressler. Dressler's group distributed among the workers at Borsig-Rheinmetall anti-Hitler leaflets calling for sabotage of war production. With the support of their German comrades, Soviet patriots organized widespread anti-Nazi agitation in the labour camp attached to the plant. They also emphasized the need to strengthen fraternal ties with the German anti-Nazis. "Communist greetings to the Eastern workers and the workers of Berlin!" were the concluding words of one of the leaflets distributed in the camp.

In the summer of 1943, a secret organization of Soviet patriots working in the German capital made contact with an underground anti-Nazi group of German intellectuals led by Doctor Grosscourth and Doctor Havemann. The Grosscourth-Havemann group, judging by the records of their subsequent trial, was one of the cells of the German resistance movement trying to lend a hand to the prisoners of war and foreign workers whom the Nazis drove into Germany for forced labour.

In spite of harsh repressive measures the Nazis were unable to crush the desire of Soviet and German patriots to strengthen their fraternal cooperation in their joint struggle against fascism. In Leipzig, in the summer of 1943, an International Anti-Nazi Committee was formed under the leadership of Nikolai Rumyantsev, a Donbas miner who had been forcibly driven to the Taucha camp of "Eastern workers," and of the Leipzig proletarian Maximilian Hauke.

The committee appealed to German and foreign workers to refuse to work in war industry, to commit acts of sabotage and to disobey the Nazi authorities. The appeals were duplicated by Hauke's sixteen-year-old son Karl and then distributed by Soviet and German underground workers at plants in Leipzig and the surrounding districts. Leaflets in German were distributed at the Taucha

Motor Works not only by the German anti-fascists in the Hauke group, but also by their Soviet comrades in the Rumyantsev group. In the same way leaflets appealing to Soviet people were brought to the foreign workers' camps by Germans as well as Russian underground workers.

The International Anti-Nazi Committee planned to liberate the Soviet prisoners of war, form shock detachments and attack the Leipzig police barracks. The next step was to have been the seizure of the armaments factories, particularly the Hasag Works which manufactured mines, grenades, *panzerfäuste* and other weapons. There was also a plan to seize the city's broadcasting station in order to broadcast a report on the uprising and appeal for support to all foreign workers and prisoners of war in Germany, and also to the German workers. In the early spring of 1944, the committee took practical steps to arm members of its underground organization. In May 1944, the committee had subsidiary groups in eight labour camps in Leipzig. The groups comprised nearly three hundred underground workers. But at the height of its preparations the underground had a setback. During a routine Gestapo raid Rumyantsev was arrested. In spite of torture he stubbornly refused to give his real name. Many days later, he was identified by a traitor. At the end of June, 33 members of the movement were arrested, two weeks later another 48 of the committee's underground workers were seized by the Gestapo. Reporting these arrests to Berlin the chief of the Leipzig Gestapo wrote: "An excellently organized group. The leaders are mainly intellectuals." On Himmler's orders all the Leipzig underground workers were sent to a concentration camp, where the majority of them suffered a cruel death.

In the ceaseless struggle of the German workers against the Nazi regime the Munich German Anti-Nazi Front (*A.D.V.*), a secret organization preparing groups for armed struggle against Hitlerism, played an important role. Describing the Munich organization's part in the movement of internal resistance to Nazism, Walter Ulbricht writes that it "prepared its basic forces for an upris-

ing. It worked in close cooperation with the secret organization *B.S.W.* (Fraternal Cooperation of Prisoners of War) set up by captured Soviet officers, which had in a short space of time obtained a foothold in all the prisoner of war camps in southern Germany and in over twenty camps for Eastern workers.... When the activity of the *A.D.V.* and the *B.S.W.* reached its culminating point at the end of 1943, the Soviet officers had organized a wide-ranging network of resistance throughout southern Germany and Austria, which had the support of several thousand partially armed and militarily organized members. Their daring preparations met with failure, however, for the Gestapo succeeded in penetrating both organizations. The fact that the Gestapo was compelled to create a special department for the liquidation of these organizations bears witness to the scale on which they were operating."

But in spite of the enemy's vicious blows, the organizers of the National Anti-Nazi Front in Germany strove persistently to cooperate with the underground organizations of foreign prisoners in Germany and particularly with the Soviet underground.

On the third anniversary of the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, German communist underground workers sent a letter "To Red Army Prisoners of War and the Men and Women Workers from the East." The letter, written in Russian and signed "the Revolutionary Workers of Germany," said: "Proud of our class, we German workers, rejoice at the successes and staunchness of the Russian people. To you, Red Army prisoners of war and Eastern workers, we send a special greeting." The authors of the letter wrote that the revolutionary workers of Germany "feel that they are bound in brotherhood with all foreign workers, and particularly with you, Russians. Wherever it is possible to organize joint resistance to the Nazis, we will do so." The German Communists concluded their letter with the following words: "The time has come to sound a trumpet-call of unity. As before, but especially now we say: 'Workers of all countries, unite!'"

The best sons and daughters of Germany stood shoulder to shoulder with all those who fought Nazism, and particularly with the Soviet people.

FRENCH AIRMEN IN BATTLE OVER SOVIET LAND

Among the comrades-in-arms of the Soviet people who fought on Soviet soil against the common enemy there were also patriots of France. Twenty French airmen who succeeded in escaping from the Nazis' clutches announced their wish to fight on the Soviet-German front during the hardest period of the war, in the summer of 1942, when the Germans had reached the Caucasus and were breaking through to Stalingrad. The Normandie Squadron that was formed during that period covered itself with glory in battle. Later it was reinforced and reformed into the Normandie-Nieman Regiment. Altogether the French airmen fought 869 air battles over Soviet territory and shot down 270 enemy planes. Four of the bravest, Marcel Albert, Jean André, Rolland de la Poype and Marcel Lefèvre, received the highest award and were made Heroes of the Soviet Union. All members of the Normandie-Nieman Regiment were decorated with orders and medals of the U.S.S.R.

In 1943, Lieutenant-Colonel Pierre Pouyade, then commander of the Normandie Squadron, wrote an article in the Soviet press about the French pilots. Here is a shortened version of what he wrote:

"In November 1942, a group of transport planes flying from the South crossed the Caspian Sea from Baku to Astrakhan, made a wide detour round Stalingrad, which in those days was going through its most critical period, and set course for Moscow. These planes were carrying the French pilots of the Normandie fighter squadron, their interpreters and mechanics.

"It was the first time they had seen Russia. Most of them had flown here straight from Africa, where they had continued to fight the Germans for over two years.

Now a very different landscape unfolded before them. No more blazing sun, no more heat, no more desert. Cold, clouds, snow that they had not seen since the winter of 1939-40, since the time when they had fought in France against the Nazi hordes. Ice-floes were already floating in the sea. The Volga had frozen and all the way to Moscow there was nothing to see but endless snow-covered fields.

"The French airmen were rather worried at first. Would they be able to stand the severe climate? But in the town where their unit was assembled they were reassured when they got to know about the well-equipped airfield and the warm clothing with which they had been provided by the Soviet Army.

"The winter passed. At the end of March 1943, the well-trained squadron flying Soviet fighters, and eager to get to grips with the enemy, set out for the Central Front. The long-awaited moment had arrived, their dream had come true. They were to fight under Soviet skies against the common enemy, they were to play their part in the liberation of France.

"The Normandie Squadron had been named after one of the most prosperous French provinces, which had suffered heavily from the Nazi invasion. All French air-force units fighting abroad for the liberation of France bear the names of French provinces plundered by the Nazi barbarians.

"All members of the Normandie Squadron are volunteers. They have all travelled a tortuous and difficult road since 1940, since the betrayal of France....

"They had to leave family and friends and risk their lives to escape. They stole aircraft, they stowed away in the holds of cargo ships and on fishing boats, they escaped from prison, they tramped across frontiers. Inspired by a great desire to fight for the freedom of their country, they overcame the most difficult obstacles.

"It would take too long to relate in detail all the adventures of the Normandie pilots. It is enough to say that some of them came to the Soviet Union from Madagascar, others from North Africa, from Indo-China, Syria, Turkey, and some from France.

"Since June 1939 all the pilots who are now members of the Normandie Squadron have fought continually against the Nazis, over Britain, in Greece, in Libya, in Crete, in Abyssinia, in Egypt. As soon as it became possible to volunteer for the Soviet-German front they responded to the call.

"When in the spring of 1943 they found themselves on the Central Front in the region of Orel they did not at first realize that they were to be participants in a gigantic battle. The spring had been comparatively quiet on the Central Front. The Nazis were engaged in the south of Russia and they had not sufficient air forces at their disposal for use on other fronts. Nevertheless, in three months the Normandie pilots shot down twelve Nazi aircraft....

"July came round and with it great events. On July 10, in the region where we usually operated, a heavy artillery duel began. Soviet bombers flew all night, dropping tons of bombs on the enemy's positions.

"The next day the bombing continued. On the morning of the 12th it became even more intense. That morning our turn came. We escorted a group of P-2 bombers whose task was to silence the enemy batteries several kilometres behind the front line. There was not a single enemy aircraft in the sky. Only a few puffs of anti-aircraft fire and glittering lines of tracer bullets reminded us of the enemy's presence. It was the first big battle we had taken part in. Only then did we understand what a Soviet Army offensive meant.

"That evening we learned that tanks and infantry had broken through the German front and that the Soviet offensive was developing successfully. This was the great battle for the liberation of Orel. We were in that battle from start to finish and shot down twenty enemy aircraft.

"Later the French airmen fought side by side with their comrades-in-arms, the fine Soviet pilots, over Bryansk, Spas-Demensk, Elnya and Smolensk. I must admit that we men of the Normandie Squadron are proud to be the only foreign air-force unit fighting on the Soviet-German front.

"In the course of the summer we shot down 77 German aircraft, and perhaps fifteen more that were not confirmed. But these victories were not won cheaply.

"Our life in the Soviet Union is naturally taken up completely with the work of fighting. Nothing can compare with the joyful feeling one experiences when one takes off, listening intently to the throb of the engine, feeling it like the beating of one's own heart, in a fine aircraft, obedient to every touch of the hand, and as familiar in every detail as an old friend, an aircraft whose merits and shortcomings one knows by heart, an aircraft that is linked with a thousand memories of flights, dangers and victories.

"We could say much about our new friends, the Soviet Army pilots, about the friendship born of living together and fighting together. We could say much of the lively sympathy shown for us by the population. The women who feed us often stealthily wipe away a tear when an empty place remains at our table after a sortie.

"In the Smolensk area a Focke-Wulf damaged one of our aircraft. The plane burst into flames. The pilot managed to bale out. But the parachute was torn by a shell splinter. The pilot fell in a zone that was being attacked by Soviet tanks and broke his spine. A nurse in one of the tank units rendered medical aid to the wounded man. She sat beside him without food or sleep for nearly twenty-four hours, then she took him back to the rear in a hospital plane and handed him over to us. Even now she writes tender encouraging letters to him in hospital in Moscow.

"The Soviet people are everywhere so friendly towards us that sometimes I feel as though we are not in a foreign land, but at home, in France, continuing the struggle that began in September 1939....

"We can never, of course, forget France and all that we have left behind there. Through the long evenings we talk of our motherland. More than three years have passed since we left her. What shall we find there when we return? Our life is wonderful in comparison with that of our comrades who are continuing the struggle

against the invaders inside the country, enduring all the privations of underground work. Tens of thousands of our fellow countrymen have been brutally exterminated by punitive detachments, hundreds of thousands are dying in Hitler's prisons.

"The Normandie Squadron has received reinforcements. We are bracing ourselves for fresh battles. And we are grateful with all our hearts to the Soviet Government and the Soviet people for enabling us to fight on their soil for the liberation of our dear France."

SOLIDARITY WITH THE U.S.S.R.

(From the history of war years)

At the beginning of December 1941, a mining trade-union branch in the town of Cowdenbeath (Fife, Scotland) decided to create a Committee of Anglo-Soviet Unity. A resolution passed unanimously by the committee appealed to the population of Cowdenbeath to redouble their efforts in obtaining maximum assistance to the Soviet Union in its heroic struggle against the Nazi barbarians. The trade-union branch took the decision to inform the Moscow Soviet that the people of Cowdenbeath and the surrounding district wished to express their warm sympathy and admiration for the people of Moscow in their brave and steadfast defence of their country and the rights of all freedom-loving peoples.

The Scottish Bakers' Union, acting on behalf of 11,000 bakers, sent a resolution expressing solidarity with the Soviet people to the Soviet embassy in London.

A large meeting in Liverpool organized by the local branch of the Russia Today Society undertook to do everything possible to strengthen the cause of the allies.

On December 11, 1941, in New York the Russian War Relief Committee held a reception in connection with an "art week" to be organized "in honour of Russia." The reception was attended by a thousand famous artists, writers, actors, musicians, sculptors and other people connected with art.

Speaking at the banquet, Charlie Chaplin said that he was sending greetings to the Soviet Union for its selfless struggle in the name of the glorious successes which it had achieved overcoming all obstacles. It instilled courageous and free inspiration in Man. He greeted Russia knowing that nothing could stop its march towards progress.

After speeches by a number of other representatives of the arts the guests at the reception sent greetings to the heroic people of the Soviet Union, to the artists, musicians, actors and other creative workers of the U.S.S.R. The greeting stated that they watched how the courageous men and women of the Soviet Union resisted the common enemy. They expressed their sincere gratitude for the struggle of the Soviet people who "defend not only human freedom but also free art. They defend not only our cultural inheritance but our cultural future as well."

On December 16, 1941, a collection day for the Aid to Russia Fund was started in London.

Correspondents of Soviet newspapers in London reported that the collection for the Aid to Russia Fund had developed into a huge demonstration of the British people's solidarity with the people of the Soviet Union. Over 250,000 collectors helped to distribute Red Cross badges with the words "Aid to Russia Fund" on the back. Sales throughout the country were so great that the original quantity of 22 million badges proved insufficient and another 5 million had to be borrowed from the supply of badges that had been laid aside for a similar collection the following year.

On that day it was a rare thing for anyone to be seen in London not wearing a Red Cross badge. Every service-man had one, and in some places service-men themselves distributed them. Collectors in Paddington, where an Anglo-Soviet friendship week had just been held, had great success. The week ended with a demonstration by representatives of various parties, cooperative and trade-union organizations, air cadets, Austrians, free German youth, Spanish trade-unionists, Norwe-

gians. The marchers carried a placard with a caricature of Hitler on the gallows.

At about the same time an Anglo-Soviet friendship week came to a close in the little old town of Leiston, Suffolk. The organizer told a TASS correspondent that over £ 110,000 had been collected for the Aid to Russia Fund. At one of the meetings over 350 workers at a local factory signed the following message of greetings to the Soviet people. "We wish to express our gratitude to the workers of the Soviet Union and we undertake to support you in the struggle against Hitlerism till the victorious end".

On October 26, 1942, the national sections of the Russian War Relief Committee held a conference in New York that was attended by 300 delegates representing various organizations of 25 nationalities.

The delegates warmly welcomed the speech of the former French Minister of Aviation Pierre Cot, who stated that the best means of helping the Soviet Union would be a second front. Deputy Governor of New York State, Poletti, honorary chairman of the Committee for Persons of Foreign Origin Resident in the United States, which was a part of the Russian War Relief Committee, said in his speech that the Russian front was of great importance, and he appealed to the allies to "pay off their enormous debt to the valiant defenders of Stalingrad and other troops fighting on the Russian front."

The conference was attended by representatives of the French and Netherlands War Aid to the Soviet Union Committees.

On November 7 and 8, 1942, a congress of Soviet-American friendship was held in New York in Madison Square Garden. It was attended by two thousand delegates representing American social, trade-union, scientific and other organizations. The congress ended with a meeting attended by 20,000 people. Thousands who were unable to obtain entrance to the hall listened in the street to speeches broadcast through loudspeakers. The congress was welcomed by President Roosevelt, General Eisenhower, and other prominent figures in the United States.

The congress discussed questions of American-Soviet cooperation during and after the war. A number of delegates spoke of the achievements of the U.S.S.R. over twenty-five years in science, health, women and child welfare, culture, defence, war production and the trade-union movement.

Speaking for 6,000,000 C.I.O. members, Mr. Thomas, president of the United Auto Workers, declared at the congress that he expressed their thoughts and hopes, when he said that the American workers greeted the Red Army together with him. Millions of workers united in the ranks of C.I.O., urged the earliest possible offensive by the United Nations, he said, to relieve the brunt of fighting with the aggressor from the shoulders of the Soviet people alone.

Mr. D. N. Pritt, a Labour Member of the British Parliament, told a Soviet journalist in November 1942 that the peoples of the Soviet Union were living in an heroic age that had been made heroic by their courage, fortitude and self-sacrifice. They had shown the whole world, he said, that a classless state of workers and peasants could suffer, fight and labour as men and women had never done before in any country, and that there were no obstacles that the Bolsheviks could not overcome. They had shown a fine example to their allies, the U.S.A. and Britain, who were delaying the assumption of their share of the burden, sacrifices and final triumph. The British and American people, he continued, had the great responsibility of seeing to it that their governments stopped their hang-fire policy and did their duty to the full and in good time.

Ernest Hemingway, the well-known American novelist, wrote in his New Year Greetings to Soviet writers in December 1942, that in 1942 the Soviet people had saved the world from the forces of barbarity by putting up a resistance alone, almost unaided. The first American effort, he said further, had been made in Africa at the end of the year. This was a token promise. Every able-bodied man in America, he said, would work and fight together with the workers and peasants of the So-

viet Union in the common cause—the ultimate destruction of fascism throughout the world and the guarantee of liberty, peace and justice for all.

On March 24, 1943, a deputation of men and women workers at war factories in Britain visited the House of Commons, where they met members of Parliament and demanded that they should insist on the opening of the second front in the immediate future.

The deputation consisted of 317 delegates sent by various working-class organizations or elected at factory workers' meetings. Ninety-four organizations were represented.

At the same time representatives of other organizations including municipal workers, members of the Civil Defence, housewives, and so on, visited the House of Commons independently. The total number of people in various delegations who went to Parliament that day to demand the immediate opening of the second front was six hundred.

Judging from the press reports of that period there were many such days at the House of Commons.

On October 25, 1943, a meeting appealing for the second front to be opened was held in London, in Trafalgar Square. It was attended by 50,000 people. Speeches were made by Aneurin Bevan, Haydn Geste and other labour members of Parliament, who stressed the need to launch broad allied offensive operations on the European continent.

LETTER TO NORWAY

(From the magazine *Ogonyok*, No. 19, 1957)

"Dear and unforgettable friends in Swanwick, so far away yet so close to my heart!

"I send you warm greetings and best wishes for a happy life, and most important of all, for good health. All members of my family send you cordial greetings and good wishes and express their sincere gratitude for your noble action.

"Over twelve years have passed since the time when you, scorning danger, helped me in my need, but nothing has faded from my memory, your dear faces are not forgotten. How could I forget them? Never!...

"We met in rather unusual circumstances. Wounded, starving, half-frozen, I, a Soviet airman, was tramping through your country at the end of October 1944 in the hope of reaching my native land.

"Steep mountains and swift rivers barred my path. I was nearly exhausted. Behind me were a fierce air battle, a parachute jump from my plane damaged by a Messerschmitt 109, a fight with a German sentry. And what lay ahead? Death in the frozen snowy marshes? That was the best I could hope for. The worse would be capture.

"'Now I was not really walking any more, I was moving forward by a kind of miracle, knowing that to stop for a moment meant death. Somewhere ahead I heard the sound of engines. Armed Nazis on motor-cycles and in lorries were moving along an asphalted road in both directions. I crawled out on to the road with the sole intention of selling my life as dearly as possible. But instead of lorry headlamps I saw the twinkling light of an electric lamp among the trees and heard the swish of bicycle tyres on the asphalt. A minute later two cyclists loomed up in front of me. I stopped them.

"'Norge! Norge!' I heard them saying they were Norwegians and a great weight was lifted off my heart.

"The Norwegians I met on that memorable night were you, dear Sigvard Larsen, and your companion Biarie Pedari.

"What happened after that I shall never forget. The Nazis had set fire to something in your village. As if it were now I can see their helmeted figures in the light of the flames, with submachine-guns in their hands. Under cover of darkness you led me through the bushes without letting the Nazis see me to Sigvard's house, where you fed me and warmed me and put me to bed.

"At dawn, my dear friend Sigvard, you had a call from Harald Knutsen of Swanwick, an engineer at the Kirkenes Works.

"I remember how Harald examined my wound and said something to you, Sigvard, and how you went outside and came back about twenty minutes later with medicine and bandages.

"All day the people of Swanwick called at your flat to bring me food, tobacco, cigarettes and to shake my hand in friendship. A woman came in with a child in her arms. I regret I cannot remember that kind woman's name, but I shall always remember the name of her son—Tor.

"Tor! You must be a big lad now, I expect you are studying at secondary school now and don't remember how that Russian airman took you 'over the bumps.' He used to put you on his tummy and bounce you up and down, saying: 'Here we go, over the bumps.... Over a smooth road, then up and down, up and down!' Your mother taught that Russian uncle of yours some Norwegian words, and when he went back to his own country, she said: 'Norwegian Tor and Russian Valery will never raise a hand against each other, they will be friends for ever.' She was thinking of my eldest son Valery.

"Every time I pick up my pipe carved out of the root of a birch-tree, and unfold my map of Swanwick and the surrounding district, I remember a brave fisherman in a broad-brimmed hat, a leather jacket and hunting boots. Forgive me, dear friend, for forgetting your name, but your face is alive in my memory and you will always remain in my heart.

"Dear friend, fisherman and hunter! It was you who helped me to find my position on your map, you who told me about the fighting close by, you who showed the Russians where the Nazis had mined the shore of the lake, you who gave me your map and your pipe and said: 'May this map and pipe remind you of our eternal and unbreakable friendship!'

"Dear friends! You sheltered me from the enemy until our troops arrived, you fed me and healed me. And when Senior Lieutenant Cherepanov's reconnaissance company entered Swanwick, the first words you spoke to the Soviet soldiers were: '*Det er en russisk fluger i Swan-*

wick.' ('There is a Russian airman in Swanwick.') Soon afterwards I said goodbye to you and went back to my brother airmen.

"Nor shall I ever forget my second meeting with you, when my comrades and I visited you to thank you for your noble action. That was in February 1945.

"But since then we have lost touch with one another. I did not write, but I thought of you a lot, and was always telling my dear ones about you. Every day, when I open the papers, I look for news of Norway and read it anxiously. I was very upset when I learned that the people of Northern Norway had suffered from the wrath of Nature.

"How are you getting on, my dear friends?

"Just a little about my own life in these past years. In 1945, I was invalided out of the Soviet Army. I went back to live in my homeland, in the town of Kurtamysh, Kurgan Region. I expect you remember my telling you about the city of Chelyabinsk. Well my home is about two hundred kilometres east of Chelyabinsk. Kurtamysh is a small town, about the same size as your Kirkenes. We have two secondary schools, a teachers' training college, an agricultural college, an auto school, a trade-union technical school, a repair depot, a machine and tractor station, an industrial plant, a food factory and other enterprises producing consumer goods. There is also a House of Culture, several cinemas, libraries, and a Young Pioneer club. After demobilization the state gave me a pension on which I can live and keep my family without having to work. But I did not want to sit doing nothing and I worked on the regional newspaper *Red Kurgan* and then went and worked for the district newspaper. Since 1955 I have been living on my pension. The Soviet Government has provided me with a good flat and annual treatment at a health resort.

"After the war we had two more children. My eldest son Valery is in the tenth class, Margarita is in the eighth, Nadezhda in the second, and the youngest, Pyotr, goes to a kindergarten. My wife Yekaterina Yefimovna is a schoolmistress, but she has not worked for over a year because I have been ill.

"You cannot describe everything in a letter. It would be a good thing if you would pay us a visit. Never mind the distance, it's not so very far really. From Kirkenes to Murmansk, and from Murmansk to Kurgan it is not more than five days' journey. I will meet you in Kurgan. Come and see us, dear friends. How glad we should all be to see you! You could visit our virgin lands—they are just round the corner!—and you would see wheat-fields that you can drive over for days without coming to the end of them. Come and see us! I feel like coming to you, to Swanwick, and wandering round those memorable spots. Then the Russian prisoners of war together with Norwegian patriots in the concentration camps were stubbing up the bushes and draining the marshes, and now, so I hear, you've got a state farm there. It would be interesting to see it.

"Well, now I must close. With sincere and friendly greetings.

"PAVEL KOCHEGIN"

FOR SERVICES RENDERED

Among the many thousand foreigners decorated by decree of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. with Orders and medals of the Soviet Union, 826 were citizens of Czechoslovakia, 639 of the U.S.A., 317 of the Mongolian People's Republic, 295 of Yugoslavia, 273 of Poland, 163 of Britain, 127 of France, 74 of Bulgaria, as well as many citizens of Rumania, Germany, Albania, Finland and a number of other states.